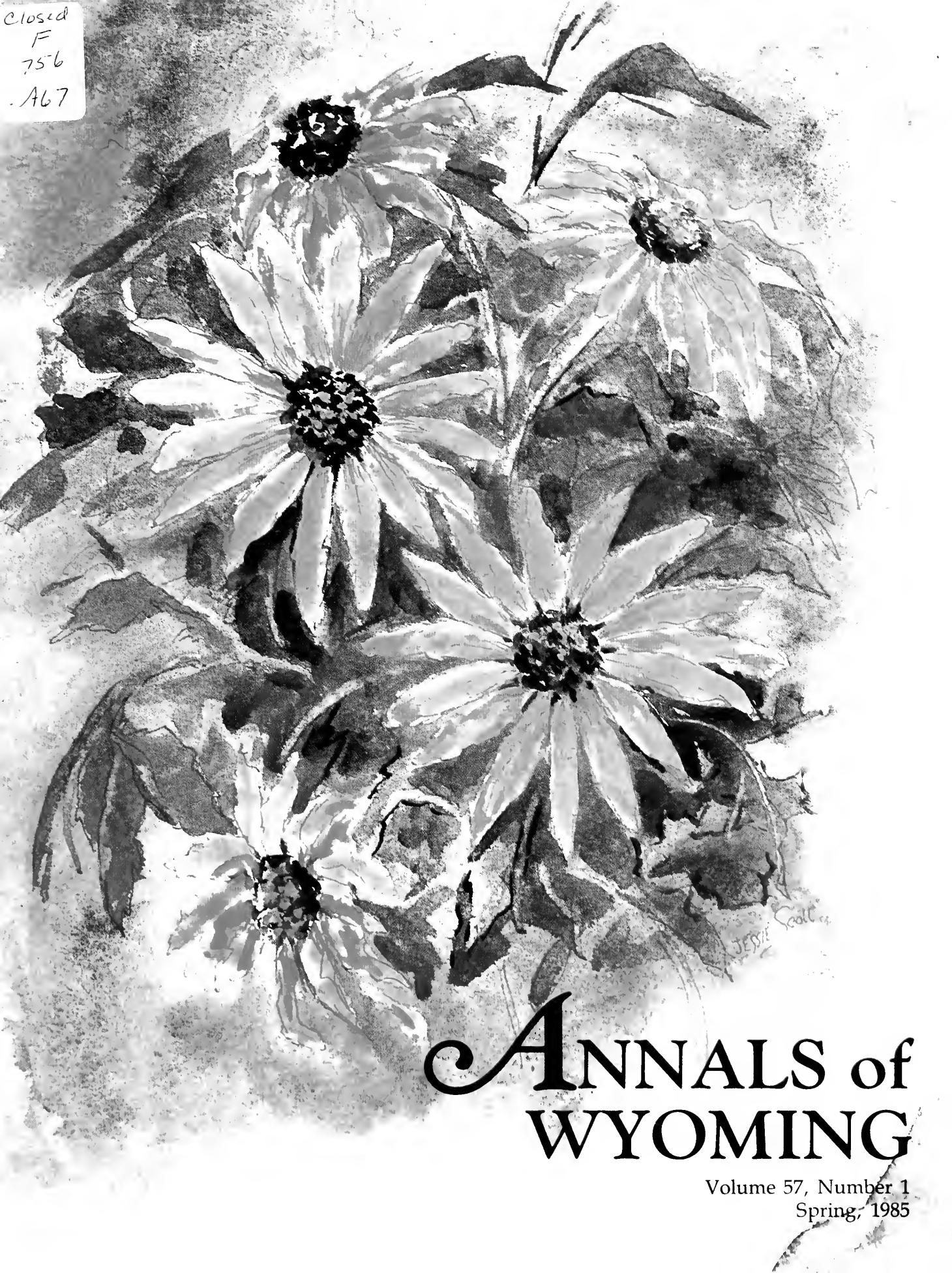


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ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 57, Number 1
Spring, 1985

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ABOUT THE COVER—Evocative of summer on the high plains of the Rocky Mountain West, the watercolor "Sunflowers" was done by Jessie Scott of Haxtun, Colorado. Rightly named, these blossoms reflect the brightness and cheer of the season, and generate a saucy kind of enthusiasm. Mrs. Scott has been interested in art since she received her first set of paints at the age of eleven. Since then she has worked in oils and watercolors and has done sculpture. She enjoys doing landscapes, including old barns, soddies and windmills. She is particularly sensitive to the beauty and excitement of Western skies and endeavors to record the moods of the prairies. In doing so, she combines artistry with careful craftsmanship and provides a fine visual legacy for her public. This painting is in a private collection.

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 57, No. 1
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THE SALT LAKE HOCKADAY MAIL

Part II

Continued from Volume 56, Number 2

by
John S. Gray

As Browne's description hinted, the real test of the central route was about to come in the season of winter storms in the mountains. Hockaday could only try to locate enough mountain stations so that in case of a storm, passengers could hole up in safety while the mail bags were put through on pack mules. The most elevated, exposed and isolated station was Gilbert's, only nine miles east of wind-swept South Pass. In September, Frederick W. Lander, successor to Magraw as leader of the Pacific Wagon Road Expedition, had assigned an old mountaineer named Charles H. Miller, to keep a weather log at Gilbert's Station.³⁸ His records reveal that the worst storm in the memory of oldtimers raged from December 1-3, 1858, with heavy snow, fierce winds and record low temperatures. This was so early in the season that the next station to the east was still 85 miles distant at Devil's Gate, and the next one to the west was 75 miles away on Green River at the mouth of Big Sandy Creek. (See beyond for a possible correction of this location.) And at that critical moment, Hockaday mails were due from both east and west.³⁹

The westbound mail had left St. Joseph on November 13, with conductor W. J. Brooks, assistant Bevins and one passenger, Indian Agent Jarvis for the Snake Indians of Carson Valley. The party reached Devil's Gate Station on schedule, November 28. A threatening snowstorm prompted them to hole up in a willow grove on Rocky Ridge, only eight miles from Gilbert's Station, on November 30. By morning the storm had struck, holding them in camp for three and a half days, while the men suffered severely and nine of their ten mules froze to death. Abandoning the mail and baggage, they plowed on again with the last of the mules at 2 p.m. on December 4. For five

hours they bucked eight miles of drifts to struggle to Gilbert's at 7 p.m. Agent Jarvis was badly chilled, but the two conductors who had kept him relatively protected, arrived with severely frozen extremities.

The eastbound mail had left Salt Lake City on November 27, with conductors Routh and Alex Montrey, as well as two passengers, John M. Guthrie of Weston, Missouri, and G. A. Beardley of New York. Previous storms had left twenty inches of snow in the valley, but six feet on the summit of Big Mountain, sixteen miles out. The party tried to make up the resulting delay by traveling after dark, only to lose their way, miss stations and have to camp out. On November 30, they dragged into Big Sandy Station on Green River, 167 miles out, exhausted and already suffering from frostbite. Although the big storm struck them that night, they took the trail again at 2 p.m. the next afternoon. By nightfall they had climbed but twenty miles into the teeth of the blizzard and huddled all night in a freezing camp. They struggled on the next morning for eight more miles before admitting that to continue on spelled death. They about-faced, in dire straits, but with the wind at their backs made the 28 miles to Big Sandy Station again.

At this point, Division Agent Ashton took over, adding to the original party two more employees, Dan Hard-ing and "Texas," as well as two more passengers, a Dr. Shaw and a government agent, Mr. Meade. During a lull in the blow on the morning of December 3, all nine started up the trail again with fresh mules. With Ashton breaking trail, they pushed doggedly on to reach the summit of South Pass at nightfall, when a renewed headwind with blowing snow obliterated the trail and visibility. Heading straight into the gale as the only means of holding a course,

they luckily struck the head of the Sweetwater, where they made a cold camp, exhausted. Some feet were so frozen and swollen that boots had to be cut off, with no replacements save spare moccasins. Early on December 4, they abandoned the mail, baggage and mules to plow on afoot, those still fit carrying those disabled. At 8 a.m. they stumbled into Gilbert's station, again with passengers badly chilled, but the self-sacrificing employees so frozen that they feared for the life of Alex Montrey and for the hands and feet of Routh and Ashton.

Henry Gilbert, Charles Miller and the station hands turned their quarters into a hospital, where the grateful passengers became nurses for the men who had spared them. Yet true to the mail tradition, someone immediately ventured out to lug in the mail bags abandoned that morning at South Pass. And that evening, when the westbound party straggled in, Gilbert started out after their abandoned mail, taking a wagon and three of his men, Thompson, Hurd and Sol Gee. They had to camp out that night, but returned safely the next morning.

Charles Miller and William Clark took the westbound mail on to reach Salt Lake on December 14. Indian Agent Jarvis remained some weeks at Gilbert's to help nurse the frozen men and so did not reach Salt Lake until December 31, with a later mail. It was mountain man Sol Gee who conducted the eastbound mail on, leaving so few able men at Gilbert's that when the next mail arrived from Salt Lake, which it had left on December 4, passenger John M. Guthrie volunteered to take the bags on to Fort Laramie, where a regular crew took over and he reverted to passenger status. These facts indicate that by this time the mail crews were normally operating only within their own divisions. Guthrie's account also reveals that at Cottonwood Springs on the Platte, he met Hockaday (about December 14) bringing out an additional herd of mules to distribute on the line.

Browne's description of the Hockaday line, quoted in part above, also carried a significant paragraph on the discriminatory actions of the Post Office Department:

It may not generally be known that the quantity of mail matter conveyed to Salt Lake City averages 13 to 15 sacks weekly. We are informed that if the same facilities were granted to the St. Joseph to Placerville route as to its southern neighbor, the mail could be transported over it with equal if not superior speed. As it is, the subdivision of the line—the Salt Lake contract held by Hockaday & Co., and the Placerville contract by G. Chorpenning & Co.—and the refusal of the President, by his veto, to shorten the contracted running time, prohibited competition between it and the Butterfield route, by which alone their relative merits could be tested. Add to this the fact that the line via Salt Lake is reduced to a near local route by being encumbered with a large newspaper mail [meaning that first class mail to California was all diverted to the Butterfield line], and it will be seen that a discrimination has been made in favor of the southern route. Messrs. Hockaday and Chorpenning have no inducement to run their mails faster than contract time.⁴⁰

Smarting under such persistent discrimination, it is not surprising to find that the contractors on the central route

organized a grandstand play to force public recognition. This was revealed in a dispatch of November 27, from Salt Lake City, which was so delayed by the big snowstorm as not to appear in the *New York Times* until January 2, 1859:

We understand that the energetic contractors, Messrs. Chorpenning & Co, and Hockaday, Burr & Co., contemplate expressing the President's Message through to California, immediately after its delivery, in fifteen days from Washington to San Francisco, and thus demonstrate the entire practicability of transmitting the mails with speed and promptness over this great central route, even in winter.

The scheme consisted of having copies of the President's Annual Message delivered into the hands of agents of the mail contractors on both the central and southern route simultaneously, as the starting gun for a public race to California that would convince the nation that the shorter central route was also the better. Fortunately for Hockaday and Chorpenning, better weather would prevail after the big storm, but alas, they failed again to reckon with the duplicity of a sectionalist president.

Although the message would not be sent to Congress until December 6, 1858, special messenger A. R. Corbin would leave Washington by the afternoon train of December 3, bearing advance copies to the agents of Hockaday and Butterfield awaiting him in St. Louis. This choice of St. Louis for the starting gate favored Butterfield, for his first 160 miles to Tipton were by rail, whereas Hockaday had to cover twice this distance over wintry roads to reach St. Joseph. Even with this advantage, Buchanan had second thoughts about exposing his pet southern route to possible defeat. Even before Mr. Corbin boarded his train that December 3, the Washington correspondent of the *San Francisco Alta California* had ferreted out the President's duplicity:

The contractors over the Salt Lake route had made arrangements, at a cost of \$8,000 to carry the Message by express over the line, but the President has refused up to this hour to let them have it, although urged to do so by several Members of Congress, whose constituents are immediately interested in this route. Should Mr. Buchanan persist to the last in his refusal, the Hon. Mr. Craig, of Mo., will come out in a card tomorrow, denouncing the President for partiality and charging upon him a determination to foster the southern route at the expense of the Salt Lake route.⁴¹

A St. Louis dispatch of December 7, revealed that Mr. Corbin had arrived there on the afternoon of the 5th. At an early hour the next morning, Butterfield's special expressman, Mr. Pardee, left by rail with his copy of the message for Tipton, authorized to proceed on horseback, if necessary, to make a record run to San Francisco. The dispatch carried the tag-line: "Extensive preparations were made by the contractors on the Salt Lake route to express the documents through, but they failed to receive copies."⁴²

Hockaday's frustrated agent fidgeted in St. Louis, reduced to waiting for the regular press copy of the message to come through. It had not arrived by the afternoon of December 8, though the agent was still waiting, his company having placed "a large number of extra horses

on the route for relays." The message was published in the St. Louis papers undoubtedly at the same time as in Chicago's, December 9, which is the date Hockaday's agent is reported to have left St. Louis for St. Joseph.⁴³

Hockaday's special expressman, waiting impatiently at St. Joseph, did not dash out from there with the printed message until December 14—eight days after Butterfield's man left Tipton. The President had neatly sabotaged the venture as a race, but Hockaday's men did make incredible time, as a Salt Lake City correspondent reported under date of January 1, 1859:

We were most agreeably disappointed last Saturday evening—Christmas Day—by the arrival of the express with the President's Message, *through in eleven days from St. Joseph* to this city. In consequence of the severe and almost incessant storms which have prevailed for the past five weeks, we had abandoned all hopes of receiving the Message by express, and least of all in so short a time. As it was, the expressman was compelled to walk twenty miles through the snow on one occasion and he was a whole day coming over Big Mountain into this city, some twenty miles, in consequence of the trails made by the mail trains becoming filled with drifting snow to the depth of eight feet. The Message was immediately forwarded to California by the contractors on the route from here to Placerville . . .

The contractors on this route assert most positively that they can forward the mails across the plains with the same speed at which they have forwarded the President's Message, if their compensation can be so augmented as to place them on an equal footing with the southern route and enable them to place their stations at regular intervals of twenty miles each instead of sixty or seventy, as they are now compelled to do. The snow would then be an obstacle easily surmounted, for the trails between stations would be readily kept open . . .⁴⁴

If Hockaday's man left St. Joseph on December 14, the running time to Salt Lake City was actually twelve days, instead of the eleven claimed above, but these calculations were often made as the difference between starting and arrival dates, even when they should have been inclusive days. Chorpenning's expressman delivered the message to Placerville on January 1, seven days from Salt Lake City and nineteen inclusive days from St. Joseph. This was a record run indeed, and beat Butterfield's time, though not his date. His headstart enabled Butterfield to deliver the message to San Francisco at 3 a.m., December 26, even though it took 21 inclusive days from Tipton. The President's duplicity had thus completely negated the money and effort Hockaday and Chorpenning had invested in their grandstand play for recognition.⁴⁵

Before this mail race fiasco had been played out, Hockaday had been in Atchison energetically and optimistically improving and expanding his enterprise. One of the major events of the summer of 1858 was the gold strike at "Pike's Peak," though the location was on Cherry Creek adjacent to the about-to-be-born Denver and its short-lived rival, Auraria. The exciting news, carried eastward in part by Hockaday's personnel and passengers, would trigger a gold rush the following spring. The first disclosure of Hockaday's reaction appeared in the *Champion* of

September 25, 1858: "Hockaday, Burr & Co., the Salt Lake Mail contractors, will run a line of coaches from Atchison to the mines, and so keep us informed of the news there." Even without setting up a branch-line to Denver, expanding the number of stations and underwriting a mail race must have exhausted Hockaday's own limited means. Hence, it is not surprising that in October, 1858, he had formed a new partnership, known as Hockaday, Liggett & Co., with a wealthy Mr. William Liggett.

Thus fortified, Hockaday soon went out to supervise operations on the line in person, as revealed by passenger Guthrie's meeting him at Cottonwood Springs about December 18. Among other things, he recruited John S. Tutt, former sutler at Fort Laramie and present sutler at Camp Walbach, a small, temporary military post just erected at Cheyenne Pass (west of present Cheyenne, Wyoming), to scout out the best trail for a branch stage line to the new gold fields. Rumors of this activity soon spread to Auraria, whence John Scudder wrote on January 25, 1859, that "Mr. Hockaday is now on the road making arrangements for his mail line from Atchison to Denver."⁴⁶

When the January 15 mail from Salt Lake, carrying passengers Chorpenning and David H. Burr, rolled into Devil's Gate Station, Burr dropped off for a week's layover, while Hockaday took his place on the stage. At Fort Laramie about January 22, Hockaday talked with Big Phil Gardner, an old mountain man who had left Auraria on January 15, to carry letters to and from the miners wintering there. Both Big Phil and Jim Sanders were making these mail trips and collecting a fee for each letter so carried. This may have sparked Hockaday's interest in a mail contract to the mines. In any case, the coach whipped into Atchison on January 31, pleasing Hockaday with a mid-winter run of only seventeen days.⁴⁷

The next week's eastbound mail made another fast trip, delivering passengers Burr and John S. Tutt to Atchison on February 7. Tutt undoubtedly reported to Hockaday on his scouting trip, of which the *Champion* of February 12, related: "Mr. Tutt has just returned from an exploring expedition on which he was sent by the Salt Lake Mail company, to select the best and shortest route from O'Fallon's Bluffs to the gold mines. He went to the mines and found the miners all doing well. The road he explored is the one on which Hockaday & Co. intend running their line of daily stages from here to the mines."

As of February 1, Postmaster General Brown advertised for bids to carry the mail on several new routes to the gold mines, the bids to be due in Washington by April 1, and decisions to be announced by April 25. The first notice of these requests for bids appeared in the *Atchison Champion* of February 26, where Hockaday would have seen it. To the description of "Rte. No. 15706, from the Crossing of the South Platte to Auraria, 240 miles and back, weekly," the editor added in parentheses: "This line will connect with Hockaday, Burr & Co.'s Great Salt Lake

Mail." A number of other news items bearing initial February datelines, referred to Hockaday's daily line to the mines, some hinting that it might follow the "parallel" route running due west of Atchison.

By this time, Hockaday had located his main stage terminal at Atchison, bringing the mail directly there from St. Joseph, over the ice in winter, by ferryboat in summer. His service was running with exemplary regularity, averaging less than twenty days running time. Contrary to a widespread misconception, he had put at least 36 stations into operation, as documented by Obridge Allen's *Guide to the Gold Fields*, published at Washington in the spring of 1859. Allen was not only an old mountain man with years of experience in guiding army explorers over western trails, but also had access to army maps and officers' travel journals. His book is thus more reliable in its details and mileages than most. Having just guided a battalion of cavalry from Salt Lake to the States, he arrived at Independence in late October, 1858, whence he proceeded to Washington.⁴⁸ He may have gathered his information on mail stations straight from Hockaday, either at Atchison or Washington, for which city Hockaday left about the end of February, 1868. Allen's *Guide* names and numbers all the Hockaday mail stations from Atchison to Salt Lake City, a condensed version of which is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Hockaday Salt Lake Mail Stations, Spring 1859 (From O. Allen, *Guide to the Gold Fields*, Washington, 1859)

No.	Name of Location	Miles Between	Cumulative
DIVISION 1—278 mi.			
1.	Atchison	0	0
2.	Mormon Grove	3	3
3.	Kinney Kirk	29	32
4.	Lockman's (Muddy Cr.)	21	53
5.	Seneca (Nemaha R.).....	20	73
6.	Vermillion Cr.	24	97
7.	Big Blue R. (Marysville)	21	118
8.	Cottonwood Cr.	12	130
9.	Rock Cr. (Turkey Cr.)	20	150
10.	Big Sandy Cr. (Dan Patterson Ranch)....	19	169
	Little Blue R.		(187)
11.	Oak Grove (Majors and Russell's Store) ..	38	207
12.	Junction (with Ft. Riley Road).....	19	226
13.	Thirty-Two Mile Cr.	19	245
14.	— (Hopeville, on Platte R.).....	25	270
Fort Kearny			(278)

DIVISION 2—332 mi.

15.	— (Kearny City)	11	281
16.	Plum Cr.	31	312
17.	— (Coldwater?)	26	338
18.	Cottonwood Springs	23	361
19.	O'Fallon's Bluffs	39	400
20.	Laramie Crossing of So. Platte	40	440
21.	Ash Hollow (on No. Platte)	18	458
22.	Rush Cr.	40	498
23.	Scott's Bluffs	57	555
24.	Beauvais' Trading Post	50	605
Fort Laramie			(610)

DIVISION 3—280 mi.

25.	Horseshoe Cr.	42	647
26.	LaBonte Cr.	29	676
27.	Box Elder Cr.	30	706
	Deer Cr.		(716)
	Platte Bridge.....		(738)
28.	Red Buttes	47	753
	Independence Rock (on Sweetwater R.)...		(790)
29.	Devil's Gate	44	797
30.	Split Rock ^a	15	812
	Three Crossings of the Sweetwater		(824)
31.	Gilbert's (last crossing of the Sweetwater). ..	69	881
	South Pass Summit		(890)

DIVISION 4—233 mi.

	Lower Crossing of Big Sandy Cr.		(944)
32.	Mo. of Big Sandy on Green R. ^b	66	956
33.	Ham's Fork	24	980
	Fort Bridger		(1009)
34.	Muddy Cr.	42	1022
	Bear R. Crossing		(1042)
35.	Mo. of Echo Cr. on Weber R. (Bromley's) .	54	1076
36.	Salt Lake City ^c	47	1123

a. Split Rock Station may be an error; by June, 1859, Greeley mentions a station at Three Crossings (mile 824).

b. Greeley names no station at Green R., but locates Big Sandy Station at its lower crossing (mile 944).

c. Greeley mentions a station (later called Mountain Dell), 13 mi. from Salt Lake City, in the valley between Big and Little Mountains.



Deer Creek Station in Division 3 was a snug log compound and furnished a respite for stage travelers.

AMH PHOTO

Perhaps Hockaday, still optimistic, had come to Washington to seek a generous contract for a Denver mail; or he may have become alarmed over the bitter debates in Congress on the enormous postal deficits incurred by the policy of liberal subsidies. In either case, he was undoubtedly shocked when Congress adjourned on March 5, without settling the issue and without passing the annual postal appropriation bill.⁴⁹ The helpless postal department could honor none of its pay obligations except with certificates of indebtedness, which contractors could convert to cash only at a severe discount.

As an indication that he foresaw trouble, Hockaday appeared at the Post Office Department on March 7, and received the following commendation in writing from the Inspection Office:

The department can safely assure you that you have performed the mail service upon route No. 8911, St. Joseph to Salt Lake City, in a manner highly creditable to yourself as contractor . . . ; that there have been no fines imposed for irregular or improper service; and that the mails have been conveyed with great regularity through the most trying season of the year. All of which is evidence that the route is well stocked and in good condition.⁵⁰

The very next day, March 8, Postmaster General Brown, the exponent of the subsidizing policy, died. His successor was Joseph Holt, a determined champion of the opposite policy—that every mail route must pay for itself out of the revenues it earned.⁵¹ He rejected every one of numerous bids submitted for a Denver mail and Hockaday did not even bother to submit a bid. Perhaps he abandoned his plan for a stage line, branch or direct, to Denver on learning John S. Jones and William H. Russell were already promoting an ambitious line from Leavenworth directly to Denver—the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company. This firm badly needed a mail contract

with subsidy and finally managed to get one of sorts. The story is told in two Washington dispatches:

Washington, March 23:—A post office has been established at Coraville, Pike's Peak region, and Matthias Snyder, formerly of Virginia, is appointed post master. The contract for daily mail service from Leavenworth to Coraville has been given to Ben McCullough and Benjamin F. Ficklin. Extensive arrangements are being made by them for the transportation of passengers also.⁵²

Washington, March 26:—The contract for carrying the mail from Leavenworth to Coraville, Pike's Peak region, was made under the Act of 1825, authorizing the establishment of special post offices to be sustained from their net proceeds; and such is the arrangement in this case that the compensation is in no event to exceed \$500 per annum. If the Post Office Route Bill had passed and the contract been made under it, this service would have cost \$20-40,000 a year. The contractors will be mainly compensated for their outlay in the carrying of passengers.⁵³

It was actually passenger service which required a subsidy and the "net proceeds" mentioned above would not even pay for the mail. But if events are proof, there was nothing to prevent such a contractor from charging his own additional fee from the sender or receiver of a letter at the "Coraville Post-Office," which was nothing but a sign on the Denver office of Jones and Russell's Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company,⁵⁴ of which Benjamin F. Ficklin was one of ten share-holders. This unique device yielded a nice revenue to the express company, but drew howls of protests from miners thus compelled to ransom stamped letters from a U.S. Post Office!

Besides withholding new contracts, Holt was casting a jaundiced eye on contracts already in force. He found, for example, that the \$600,000 Butterfield contract earned postage revenue of \$27,229.94, and the \$320,000 Hockaday-Chorpenning contracts only \$5,412.03 (franked "Pub. Docs." earned no revenue!).⁵⁵ The magnitude of this

deficit may have been surprising, but subsidizing contracts had been specifically designed to pay off in ways deemed more valuable than stamp money. Whether mail service should be subsidized or self-supporting was the very issue that Congressional debate had failed to settle, but Holt resolved to reverse the prevailing philosophy, single-handed, while Congress was adjourned.

Holt, also a Southerner, was scarcely inclined to tamper with the ironclad Butterfield contract, but those of Hockaday and Chorpenning were another matter. On March 26, Assistant Postmaster General William H. Dundas called Hockaday to his office and told him that since Congress had failed to appropriate postal funds, he was requesting the contractor to submit a proposal for reducing his mail service from weekly to semi-monthly, at a corresponding reduction in pay. Hockaday could only have viewed this as an attempt to induce him to volunteer a financially suicidal violation of his own contract in order to spare the postal department embarrassment.

On March 28, Hockaday calmly wrote Holt that since such reduction in service would actually increase his expenses by doubling the mail load, personnel, stock and wagons per trip, a corresponding reduction in pay would work a serious injustice. He further pointed out that his expenses to date (eleven months) in stocking and equipping his line for the contracted weekly service were \$394,000, which he could scarcely recover on reduced pay. (His pay for these eleven months was \$173,250, or less than half his expenses, revealing the extent of his borrowing.) He, therefore, volunteered no proposal, but concluded:

The failure of Congress in providing funds for the support of the postal service, is of itself well calculated to shake the credit of contractors . . . While I am willing to carry on my service until Congress provides for payment of contractors, I am constrained to admit my inability to accomplish the same if any material change [reduction] is made in the character [frequency] of the service, or any diminution of the compensation on which I have relied to meet the expenditures already incurred in establishing my route.⁵⁶

Despite this reasonable stand, Dundas notified Hockaday on April 7 (the letter itself is missing from the record), that Holt had decided to reduce the service to semi-monthly. Hockaday replied in writing on April 10, again first pointing out that no one regretted more than payless contractors the department's shortage of funds. He then revealed his intention to seek redress from Congress:

I shall . . . continue to run my carriages over the line weekly . . . and will convey . . . [the mail] once a week, relying on Congress to allow me the difference between the price fixed by the department for the [reduced] service ordered and my original contract price, as this is the only method I can see of protecting my securities [i.e., bondsmen] and myself from ruin and loss . . .

It is true that there is an express reservation in my contract authorizing . . . [you] to diminish the service, *in certain contingencies*, to semi-monthly. [Why did Hockaday not quote the rest of this clause—"at \$190,000 a year," the full contract price?] . . .

Had such contingencies arisen . . . the reduction of compensation . . . would then be a matter of equitable adjustment . . . but certainly not a question to be determined by either party to the contract without the assent of the other.⁵⁷

When Hockaday later submitted his claim to Congress, the key issues became: a) was the reason for curtailing service in accord with the contract ?, and b) was the pay reduction in accord with the contract? A Senate Committee requested Holt to furnish relevant documents from his files. Conspicuously missing from the irrelevant and "cover-up" documents thus furnished were the orders to Hockaday that should have spelled out the contract provisions that justified Holt's actions. Hockaday's replies consistently give Congressional delinquency as the reason for curtailment. In the absence of Holt's orders, we can confirm this only by quoting a similar order to Chorpenning of April 8, 1859:

Owing to the financial pressure upon this department resulting from the failure of Congress to pass the Post Office Appropriation bills, it becomes necessary, in the opinion of the Postmaster General to curtail service. He orders that trips on . . . [your route] be reduced to semi-monthly from the 1st of July next.⁵⁸



AMH PHOTO

Prior to the construction of the transcontinental railroad, freighting outfits such as this supplied consumer goods to people in the West.



AMH PHOTO

Coaches of this sort were a common sight in the mid 19th century, transporting mail and adventuresome travelers . . .

On receiving Hockaday's notice that he would petition Congress, Holt must have realized that curtailment because of a delinquent Congress was a blatant violation of the contract. He tried to repair the damage by having Dundas write to Hockaday on April 12, introducing a new reason for curtailment:

It was not merely in consequence of the failure of Congress to appropriate necessary sums . . . but because he deemed the weekly service needless for the public wants; that, in fact, the state of things contemplated by the reservation in the contract had occurred . . . [Holt] therefore insists that the order for curtailment be made absolute . . . after the 1st of July next . . .⁵⁹

Since the Salt Lake route was carrying a good deal more mail than when it started a year earlier, Holt's reasoning in deeming it suddenly "needless" is remarkably obscure. The majority of the Senate Committee would express its opinion of Holt's tortured reasoning by reporting that it was "satisfied that if the Post Office appropriation bill had passed . . . no reduction would have been made in the service on the route."⁶⁰

Holt's withholding of pertinent documents even leaves it uncertain as to when Hockaday was notified that his compensation was cut from \$190,000 to \$125,000 per year; the Committee majority implied April 7, and the minority April 14. Hockaday had been warned of a *pro-rata* reduction of 50%, and may have been surprised when it ultimately proved to be 34.2%. A year later Holt admitted to Congress that this violation of his "inflexible" *pro-rata* rule was due to "the pressure of unusual circumstances."⁶¹ The circumstances were indeed unusual: his reason for curtailment violated the contract; the contract spelled out full pay for half service, and a month's extra pay for any service curtailed! The latter was not even offered until a year late.

In one energetic year, Hockaday had succeeded in establishing the first reliable mail service to Salt Lake City, and was well on the way to developing a first-class stage line, despite persistent discrimination from a sectionalist administration, but—largely on credit. At this crucial moment, a delinquent Congress delayed and discounted his pay and an arbitrary bureaucrat scheduled it for drastic reduction. Such ominous actions could not fail to bring a swarm of frightened creditors clamoring for their money—and Hockaday's ruin. In desperation he sped west to salvage what he could. He quickly made a forced sale to a splurging new competitor—Jones and Russell's Leavenworth and Pikes Peak Express Co., so needful of a better mail contract.

Jones and Russell had sent their first pair of passenger coaches from Leavenworth on April 8, to complete a twenty-day trip over their newly-stocked route along the Solomon and Republican Rivers to reach Denver on May 7.⁶² Before the second westbound trip could be completed, Hockaday at Leavenworth on May 11, agreed to sell to Jones and Russell his Salt Lake Mail contract, to be turned over four days later, May 15, 1859. It was the contract itself that brought Hockaday a "bonus" of \$50,000, apparently in immediate cash. In addition, he was to receive a sum, still indefinite but to be fixed by appraisers, for "all mules, coaches, wagons and harness used for transporting for the mail line, and all other things connected with the carrying of said mail, including the cost of all improvements at the stations en route, houses, corrals, farming utensils, land broken, etc." This sum was to be paid partly in cash (including the regular government payments on the contract until July 1, 1859) and partly in promissory notes due at intervals over the next year.⁶³

That summer the appraisal fixed the indefinite sum at \$94,000 making the total sale price \$144,000.⁶⁴ This was indeed a forced sale at a loss, as Hockaday moaned. His claim of \$394,000 for expenses had included \$117,000 for livestock alone. This is reasonable, for 36 mail stations would need about sixteen mules each in order to provide relays for two four-mule wagons in each mail run in each direction; these 576 mules, each costing about \$200 would require a total outlay of \$115,200. Jones and Russell got them and a great deal of equipment and supplies for only \$94,000. Furthermore they were already distributed along the line, saving an enormous expense and delay. There can be no doubt that Jones and Russell got a real bargain. As to the contract, they paid \$50,000 for seventeen month's payments totaling \$175,000.

On May 15, Hockaday assigned his mail contract to himself and Luther S. Smoot, a Leavenworth banker and partner of Russell, to be held in trust for Jones and Russell. But the Post Office Department promptly made it clear that the Salt Lake mail must continue to use the original Platte route, thus forcing Jones and Russell to abandon their new trail and adopt Hockaday's route, from which they had to send a branch line up the South Platte to Denver.

Thus it was that on May 31, Beverly D. Williams, route agent (or division superintendent) for Jones and Russell, sped out from Leavenworth with orders to send all stock from as far out as Station No. 22 (well inside present Colorado) back to Leavenworth for use on the Platte route; to send the coach outfits on to Denver and to prepare three new stations along the South Platte branch to Denver.⁶⁵ On this mission, Williams overtook the stagecoach that carried famed newsmen, Horace Greeley and Albert D. Richardson into Denver on June 6. The *Rocky Mountain News* of June 11 reported:

Mr. Williams informs us that he made an entire change in the location of the mail route [to Denver]. The Company, having purchased the stock and route of the Salt Lake Mail, will now move their whole force to the Platte Route by way of Fort Kearny to the South Platte Crossing, from whence one line will continue up the North Platte to Fort Laramie and South Pass, the other diverging to follow the South Platte to Denver. Mr. Williams gave the necessary orders for the removal of all the stations over to the Platte as he came out, and on Thursday, June 9, the first coach left [Denver] by that route under the personal direction [i.e., orders] of Mr. Williams.

One more Jones and Russell coach left Denver on June 11 to return by the Solomon-Republican route, bearing not only B.D. Williams, but the "Greeley Report" on the richness of the newly-discovered Gregory and Jackson Diggings, the first paying gold strikes in Colorado.

From May 15 to July 1, 1859, Hockaday and Smoot held the Salt Lake Mail contract in trust, during which interval Hockaday & Co. apparently retained management of the Salt Lake line and Jones and Russell that of the Denver line, with no unified supervision. As evidence, contemporary newspapers mention no change in management of the Salt Lake line until after the service was reduced to

semi-monthly on July 1. Also, the Jones and Russell coaches that left Denver in June to return via the Platte route met with difficulties in coordinating with the Salt Lake coaches, which had not been forewarned of any take-over.⁶⁶ Furthermore, Horace Greeley, who had ridden to Denver on the "Pike's Peak Express," resumed his westward journey from Fort Laramie on June 30, aboard the "Salt Lake Mail" that had left Atchison on Saturday, June 18. He gave no hint that it had been taken over by the Pike's Peak Express Co.⁶⁷ Finally, the first Jones and Russell coach to Denver over the Platte route did not leave Leavenworth until Saturday, July 2.⁶⁸

There are some significant features of Greeley's trip which left Fort Laramie at 8 p.m. of June 30, and rolled into Salt Lake City at nightfall, July 10. Although he spent most nights at various stage stations, he did camp out on two occasions. In contrast to the information in Allen's *Guide*, Greeley mentions no station at Split Rock, which is suspiciously close to Devil's Gate and thus may have been abandoned in favor of one at Three Crossings of the Sweetwater, which Greeley does mention. Also, Greeley locates the Big Sandy Station, not on Green River at the mouth of the Big Sandy, but at the lower crossing of the latter twelve miles east of the Green; it is possible that Allen's *Guide* had mislocated this station. Finally, Greeley mentions a new station thirteen miles from Salt Lake City, in the narrow valley (called Mountain Dell) between Big and Little Mountains.

The earliest notice that Jones and Russell had taken over the Salt Lake line appeared in a news dispatch of July 22 from Salt Lake City, received at Weston, Missouri:

The entire mail line from St. Joseph to Salt Lake City has passed into the hands of Jones, Russell, Smoot and Ficklin, by whom it is hereafter to be carried semi-monthly. The arrangement does not give satisfaction at Camp Floyd and Salt Lake City . . .⁶⁹

It has generally been assumed that Ben Ficklin was a charter member of Jones and Russell because he later appears as a share-holder. The above is the earliest contemporary notice of his direct association with this firm.

The Jones and Russell takeover entailed some adjustments in line divisions. They reduced the four divisions on the Hockaday line to three, and added a fourth as the new branch line to Denver. They retained three of Hockaday's division agents, who later that fall made affidavits to support Hockaday's claim to Congress for relief. Charles W. Wiley was agent for an adjusted division extending from St. Joseph (and presumably Atchison and Leavenworth) to the lower crossing of the South Platte; he swore that after July 1, 1859, seven new stations were required on his division. Joseph Alfred Slade took over the adjusted division from the crossing to South Pass; he swore that three more stations were required on his division after July 1. James E. Bromley, who bossed the unchanged division from South Pass to Salt Lake City, claimed that no new stations were required.⁷⁰

Table. 2 Hockaday vs Jones & Russell Stage Stations

HOCKADAY, spring 1859

No. Stations	Miles
1. Leavenworth	0
2. Mormon Grove	16
3. Kinney Kirk	29
4. Lockman's	21
5. Seneca	20
6. Vermillion Cr.	24
7. Big Blue	21
8. Cottonwood Cr.	12
9. Rock Cr.	20
10. Big Sandy	19
11. Oak Grove	38
12. Junction	19
13. Thirty-Two Mile Cr.	19
14. — (Hopeville)	25
15. — (Kearny City)	11
16. Plum Cr.	31
17. — (Coldwater?)	26
18. Cottonwood Springs	23
19. O'Fallon's Bluffs	39
20. Lower Crossing	40

No. Stations	Miles
1. Leavenworth	0
2. Armour's	26
3. Kinnekuk	19
4. Lockman's	20
5. Seneca	18
6. Guittard's	27
7. Cottonwood	24
8. Rock Cr.	20
9. Big Sandy	20
10. Kiowa	24
11. Liberty Farm	24
12. Thirty-two Mile Cr.	20
13. Fort Kearny	30
14. 17-Mile Station	20
15. Plum Cr.	16
16. Coldwater	23
17. Cottonwood Springs	34
18. O'Fallon's Bluffs	35
19. Lower Crossing	38
20. Upper Crossing (Julesburg)	27
21. Lillian Springs	30
22. Beaver Cr.	50
23. Fremont's Orchard	31
24. St. Vrain's Fort	44
25. Denver City	43

The Hockaday data are from Allen's *Guide*; the Jones and Russell data are from identical tables in the *Rocky Mountain News* (August 27, 1859) and the *Leavenworth Times* (February 14, 1860).

For the added branch line division to Denver, B. D. Williams had ordered three stations built, but before long there were more than this, as will be shown. The first agent for this division was identified by William N. Byers, editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, who returned from a quick trip east on August 5, and wrote a tribute to the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company in his issue of August 13, 1859:

. . . On our recent journey from the States we found their stations along the South Plate [the new branch division] fitted up in the best style possible. Several new stations have also been made below the crossing [on Wiley's eastern division] in addition to the old Salt Lake Mail Co. stations . . .

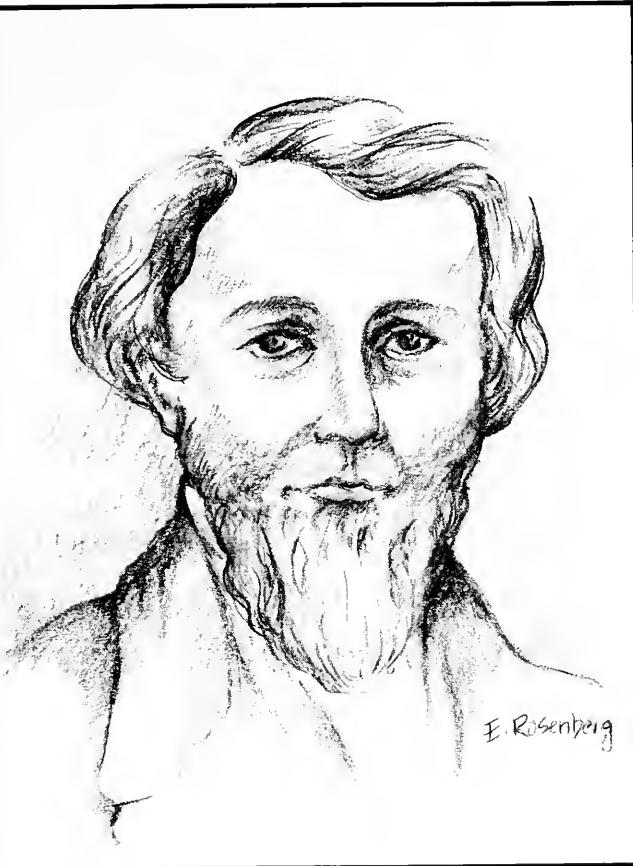
To Capt. [Corydon P.] Hall, the very efficient superintendent [i.e. agent] of the western division of the [South] Platte route, we desire to return our heartfelt thanks for the many courtesies shown on our recent journey over his division . . .

In line with the traditional story that Hockaday's Salt Lake Mail was a "two-bit" line, even Root and Hickman's nearly exhaustive account of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company leaves the distinct impression that this firm built the Platte route from scratch. Yet we have seen that Bromley claimed no new stations for his western division, while Slade claimed only three for his longest division without indicating how many had been dropped. As to Wiley's eastern division, and Hall's new branch division, there is excellent evidence of how few alterations Jones and Russell had to make. Table 2 presents the Hockaday stations on Wiley's division, as listed in Allen's *Guide* (mileages this time from Leavenworth) for comparison with

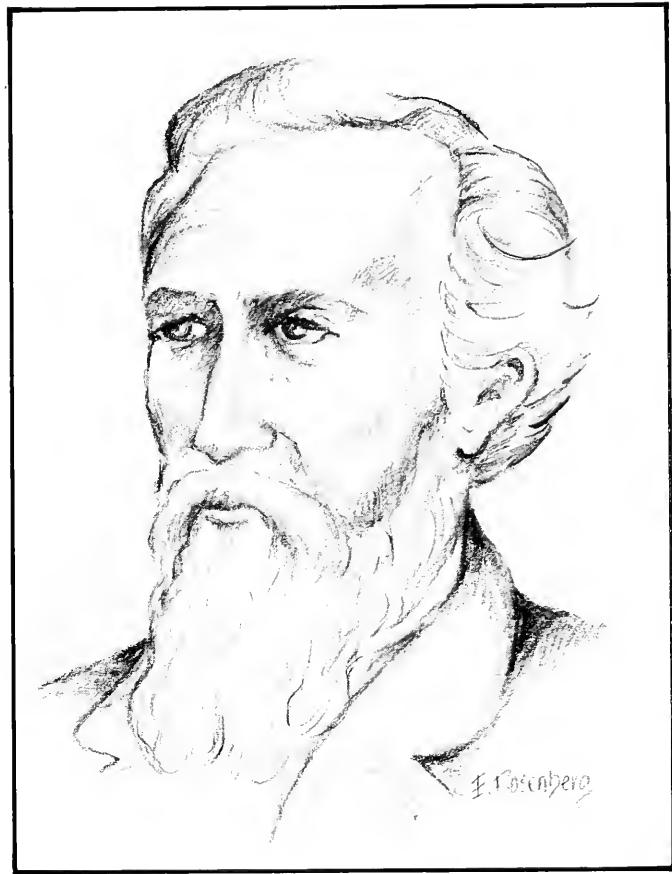
the Jones and Russell stations as listed identically in the *Rocky Mountain News* of August 27, 1859, and the *Leavenworth Times* of February 14, 1860, (mileages also from Leavenworth).

A glance at this table reveals that on Wiley's eastern division, Jones and Russell had one less station than Hockaday, though they did change several of them. On Hall's new branch line, Jones and Russell were compelled to build six stations. In the course of time the Russell firm would indeed erect many more stations (especially for their pony express) and would steadily improve their quality. But the fact remains, that for nearly a year they operated largely with the stations and equipment they had bought from Hockaday and Company by forced sale.

By July, 1859, Hockaday had not only lost his promising mail and stage line business, but had seen his own credit and that of his financial backers completely destroyed. His only recourse was to memorialize Congress for relief. He began assembling affidavits from friends, employees and postmasters along his route to support a memorial he addressed to Congress from Washington on March 14, 1860. He then left on a quick trip west, a discouraged and demoralized man. Capt. Albert Tracy, 10th U.S. Infantry, traveling from Utah to the States by Russell, Majors and Waddell's reorganized stage line then known as the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, arrived at Gilbert's Station at South Pass on April 13, 1860. There he overtook Hockaday and

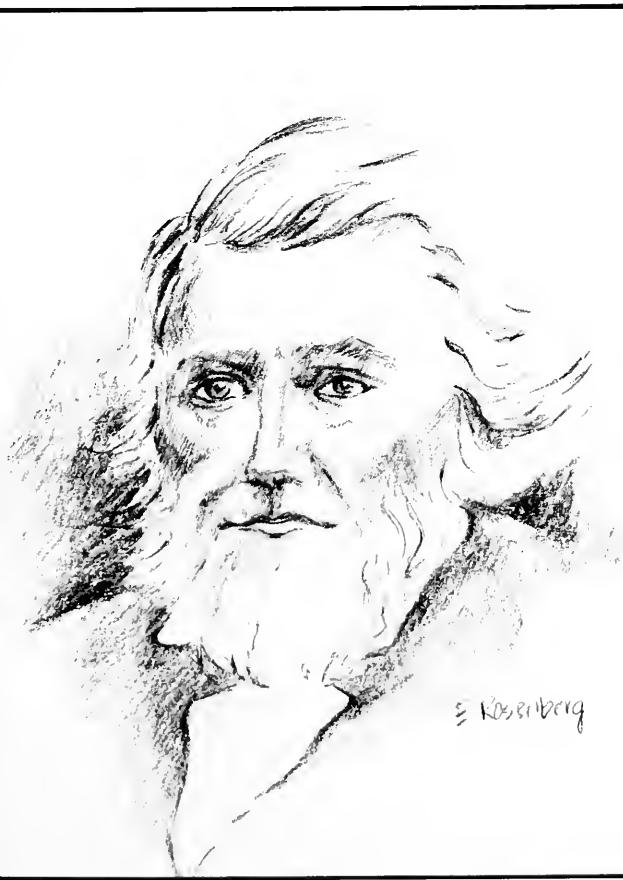


William H. Russell



Alexander Majors

William Bradford Waddell



Russell, Majors and
Waddell . . . Although tradition
painted them in glamorous colors,
they were to share the same fate
as Hockaday.

"Doc Erwin" (presumably Joseph C. Irwin, who would succeed Russell, Majors and Waddell as the largest of military freighting contractors). The energetic and enterprising young stage man had now become a pathetic alcoholic, soon to disappear from public view.⁷¹

The memorial for the relief of Hockaday and Liggitt was referred to the Senate Committee on Post Office and Post Roads. Its majority and minority reports were ordered printed for the guidance of Congress on June 6, 1860. The majority report pointed out that the policy of subsidizing mail contracts had been in force with the approval of Congress when the Hockaday contract was let; that the contract specified full pay if half service was ordered and that the contractors were entitled to redress for actual losses, recommended at \$40,000. The minority report tried to saddle Hockaday with responsibility for the profligate subsidizing policy, refused to mention the contract clause that called for full pay for half service, and recommended no relief.

The minority report failed to fool Congress, which voted the relief bill, but President Buchanan persisted in his stubborn partisanship by vetoing it. The next year Congress again passed the relief bill and the President permitted it to become law without his signature.⁷² When Hockaday received his \$40,000, his creditors filed suits against him.⁷³

The Hockaday saga is thus a sad one. In its day, the enterprise fell victim to government injustice, and since then tradition has branded it an inept failure. The historical evidence, however, reveals that in a brief period and against overwhelming odds, Hockaday had built so well that another firm could operate his line successfully for a year with little additional outlay. Though the government again saw fit to destroy Russell, Majors and Waddell, tradition has painted them in glamorous colors.

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A Bibliography of Writings Concerning the Big Horn Medicine Wheel, Big Horn National Forest

by Carol D. Hunter

Author's Introduction:

My interest in the Big Horn Medicine Wheel began in 1976, when I returned to college to finish my degree and wanted to combine an enjoyable summer for my children while doing some research in Wyoming anthropology. I had lived in Lovell, Wyoming, a few years before, had seen the Big Horn Medicine Wheel, and asked questions of the natives, but little seemed to be known. My first impression of the "wheel" was that it was just a pile of rocks and I couldn't understand what all the excitement was about.

Now, some nine years later, the medicine wheels of the northern plains have greatly enriched my life. First of all, they always seem to be located in some of the most beautiful places in Wyoming and Montana and some of the most interesting people from all over the world enjoy visiting them. I have climbed Medicine Mountain with a woman astronomer from China, sat at a campfire with Royal Air Force pilots from Canada while waiting for the summer solstice sunrise, watched my children dance at a Crow pow wow, and shared my experiences and knowledge with other interested persons from all over Montana and Wyoming. This bibliography and these pictures are for them.

George Frison of the University of Wyoming's Archaeological Department has a wonderful quote with which I wholeheartedly agree. He says, "given the highly conjectural nature of many past studies of the Wheel (the Big Horn Medicine Wheel) and the sensational coverage given these theories, we face the real possibility that the Medicine Wheel is now of more lasting importance to the white man, than it ever was to the Indian."

The meaning of the Big Horn Medicine Wheel and the other medicine wheels of the northern plains have been a target of much sensationalism. Many individuals have done studies and many others advance theories in which common sense is not always involved. I think it is important to say that we may never know the true purpose and meaning of the Big Horn Medicine Wheel.

The first white man to see the Big Horn Medicine Wheel was in the 1880s and probably a miner from Bald Mountain City, which is only a few miles from the "wheel." The Big Horn Medicine Wheel sits at an elevation of 9,642 feet on Medicine Mountain on the west side of the Big Horn Mountains. In 1895, an article appeared in *Field and Stream* describing the wheel as having a striking resemblance to the "Calendar Stone of Old Mexico" and referred to it as a medicine wheel. To my knowledge this is the first reference using this term for the Big Horn Medicine Wheel. In 1902, S. C. Simms of the Field Columbia Museum visited the Big Horn Medicine Wheel and published his report in the *American Anthropologist*. In 1913, W. A. Allen published his little book, *The Sheep Eaters*, in which he tells of an interview with an Indian woman whom he believed to be the last of the Sheep-eaters. In 1915, H. H. Thompson of Lovell, Wyoming, took pictures of the Big Horn Medicine Wheel and tried to find out more about it from Indians of the area, but had little success. The Big Horn Medicine Wheel was surveyed and mapped by A. G. Stockwell in 1917. George Bird Grinnell wrote a report for the *American Anthropologist* in 1922 about his belief that the Big Horn Medicine Wheel was a representation of a Plains Indian ceremonial lodge.

In 1958, the Wyoming Archaeological Society under the direction of Don Grey, conducted an excavation of the site and from their findings, concluded that the Big Horn Medicine Wheel was built in stages, the oldest being the center cairn. It may have been constructed as early as 1500 A.D. The spokes and outer circle may have been added a few years later. The outer cairns, according to Grey's tree ring analysis of wood found in one of the outer cairns, could have been constructed around 1760 A.D. Very few artifacts have been found over the years at the site.

Jay Ellis Ransom began writing in 1971 of his theory that the Big Horn Medicine Wheel could be dated using linguistics. He believes his theory dates the wheel as being built 2,000 years ago.

In 1973, Dr. Frison of the University of Wyoming studied the site and found no new information.

One of the most famous theories pertaining to the Medicine Wheel was published in 1974 by Dr. John Eddy of the High Altitude Observatory in Boulder, Colorado. He purports the "wheel" was used by ancient people to mark the summer solstice's sunrise and certain stars of the midsummer dawn, and that it was last used for this purpose 200-700 years ago.

One of the most interesting theories was proposed in 1980 by Allan Fries. He feels that old reports and pictures show that at one time there was another cairn at the site.

Until recently, the wheel and its purpose has been a mystery to the Indians of the area. But in 1952, Phillip

Heaton, Forest Supervisor of the Big Horn National Forest, interviewed Robert Yellowtail, Chairman of the Crow tribe. In that interview, Yellowtail said that he understood the Big Horn Medicine Wheel was the remains of a Sun Dance lodge. Henry Old Coyote of the Crow tribe told the Forest Office in Dayton, Wyoming that they were going to have a Sun Dance in the summer of 1954 at the Big Horn Medicine Wheel. In 1977, the Forest Service took pictures of the wheel after a ceremony lead by George "Bear Coat" Aniotte, a Sioux, had taken place.

So, the Big Horn Medicine Wheel lives today for both the white man and the Indian. Other medicine wheels and related stone structures such as stone arrows are less well known. A very old medicine wheel is on the Sun River in northern Montana, and the Fort Smith Medicine Wheel on the Big Horn River in southern Montana seems to be mentioned in connection with the Big Horn Medicine Wheel in Indian legends. Stone arrows which may point to the Medicine Wheel are located in Meeteetse, as well as other parts of Wyoming. Many of the other medicine wheels exist now only in old reports and old men's memories. Still others have been built by bored sheep herders and enthusiastic tourists.

The Big Horn Medicine Wheel as well as the other medicine wheels of the northern plains are now an important part of Montana's and Wyoming's past. May we continue to preserve and yet enjoy them for many generations to come.

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*The Arrow points
to the location of the
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Wheel . . .*



AUTHOR'S PHOTO

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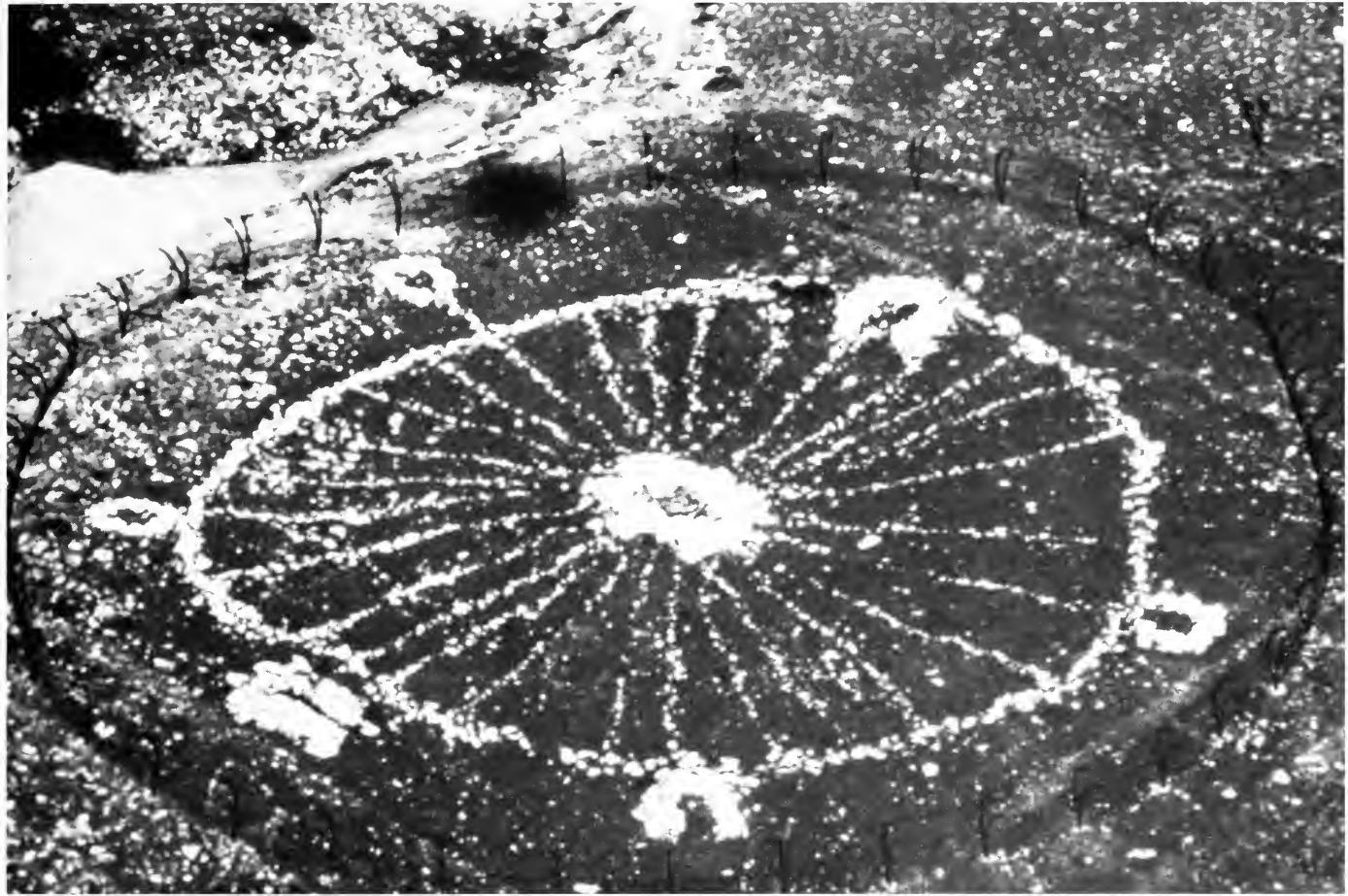
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THE JOURNALS of JAMES S. McCLELLAN

1st Sgt., Company H.
3rd Cavalry

edited by
Thomas R. Buecker

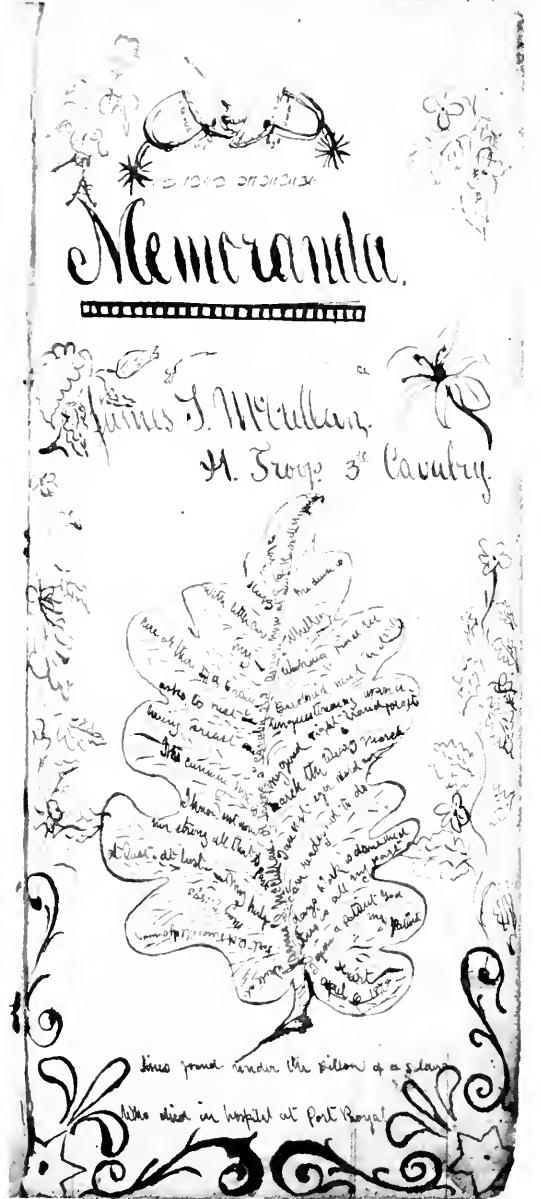
Introduction

Classics of the frontier Army by the likes of Charles King, Elizabeth Custer, and Martha Summerhayes frequently tended to romanticize the hard duty found in the west. Often written in later years, these accounts often forgot long, endless days on the march, lack of food and water, and severe physical and climatic conditions. Through the study of journals and diaries written by participants at the time the events took place one begins to realize the tremendously difficult and trying situation of the Army in western service. One such example is the journals left by First Sergeant James S. McClellan of Company H, 3rd Cavalry.

James S. McClellan is typical of the thousands of immigrants who came to this country and enlisted in the United States Army. He was born in Kingston, New Brunswick in 1851. On June 28, 1872, he enlisted at Boston, Massachusetts, for a five-year enlistment. McClellan was soon transferred to the 3rd Cavalry, recently arrived at Fort D. A. Russell, Cheyenne, from duty in Arizona, and was assigned to Company H, under the command of Captain H. W. Wessells, Jr. McClellan soon proved his worth as a soldier, and was quickly promoted through the enlisted ranks. After less than one year, he was promoted to corporal. On March 31, 1874, he became a sergeant, and later that year served as temporary company first sergeant for nearly four months. In 1875, he was appointed as acting sergeant major of the Black Hills Expedition under Col. R. I. Dodge. On December 16, he was permanently promoted to first sergeant, after three and one-half years in the service.

After his promotion to corporal, McClellan decided to keep a journal to record ". . . all that I think will be of any use for me to remember."¹ He kept at least two journals in small, narrow memorandum books. The first journals recorded miscellaneous notations on garrison life at Fort Russell and scouts in western Nebraska and central Wyoming in 1873-74. Also this journal contains his diary of the Big Horn, or Sweetwater Expedition during the late summer of 1874. The second journal contains his record of the Powder River Expedition of 1876. Included here is a candid description of his part in the attack on Dull Knife's village on November 25, 1876.

McClellan wrote down chiefly what he wanted to remember at the time. Distances marched, availability of wood, weather conditions, and daily incidents were recorded, apparently at night after camp was made. His concern as a cavalry first sergeant is evident in his comments about grass and water for the horses. These notes were jotted down as opportunity allowed under various conditions, all in pencil. Portions of his writings were difficult to transcribe because of the rubbing caused by carrying the journals long periods in his pockets.² The material presented here is exactly as Sergeant McClellan wrote in regard to spelling and punctuation. Numerous pages of company rolls, equipment and ammunition issues, and other information of an incidental nature have not been included. McClellan's journals today are housed in the Rare Books & Manuscripts Division of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. The following graphically illustrates the hardship and challenge faced by the Army in Wyoming during the 1870s.



NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY PHOTO

JOURNAL 1873-1874

General Instructions for all Posts of the Guard—
Post No. x "I am required to take charge of this post & all public property in view to salute all Officers passing according to rank: To give the alarm in case of fire or any disturbance What-soever. To Report all violations of the articles of War, Regulations of the army or Post or garrison orders: at night to Challenge all Persons approaching my Post & to allow no one to pass without the Countersign until they are examined by an Officer or Non Commissioned Officer of the Guard.

Cop'l James S. McClellan
H Troop, 3rd Cavalry

Websters Practical Letter Writer the new edition bound in cloth & lettered in gilt. Price 75¢ address R. M. DeWitt
33 Rose Str. N.Y. City

To the left is the title page of McClellan's Journal with artwork done by the young soldier.

Diary May 7, 1873

I was made Corporal on April 7 just as I had served 9 months and 9 days in the service. I enlisted on June 28th in Boston. Now I must try to write in this book all that I think will be of any use for me to remember.

May 13 Was to Cheyenne on Det.[ached] Service in the afternoon, after a deserter.

May 29 Today I was detailed to drill the recruit that came to this company two days ago.

June 3 3rd of June & still we are mounting guard in Overcoats. But it is good enough Weather to do without them.

June 5 1873 Major Dudley³ went out to D Troop's camp yesterday & had boots & saddles sounded & the troop was in line saddled up & had one platoon on the charge in 5 minutes.

June 17 Just got in of a 10 days hunt. We shot a lot of Antelope and Deer.

Aug 8 Left Russell for the mountains.

Sept 4 1873 March of H Troop to the Black Hills 4th 1st day out 5th 6th Iron Mt⁴ 8th Dog Canon 9th Laramie Plains

Sept 15, 1873 Home from Detached service after a 10 day trip to Iron Mountain.

Was on guard once. The Guard Sept 8, 1873
Corpl. McClellan

Pvt Foreman	9:30 to 11:30
" Leman	11:30 to 1:30
" Wright	1:30 to 3:30
" Crosby	3:30 to 5:30
" Philips	7:30 to 9:30
" McTeague	5:30 to 7:30

Dec 8 1873 Mounted guard at one o'clock. The man Hayter escaped from the guard. The Sergeant was put in arrest for Neglect of duty.

Dec 17 Mounted guard in the morning. 2 prisoners named O'Brien & Leslie escaped & the sentinel who's name is Kenedy of L Co. 3rd Cav.

I am the best shot this week, ending on Dec. 23. We shot at 300 yards. I made one 3 inch & one 6 inch & one 19 inch shots. 28 inches total from the nail on the centre of the target.⁵

Jan 6, 1874 Was the best shot today again made three shots 8 x 12 x 22 inches at 300 yards range.

Jan 13 Best shot—single shot made are 4 & one 8 inch shots at 300 yards. But missed the third shot.

(In early February, 1874, several attacks and depredations by roving bands of Sioux brought alarm to western Nebraska. In response, Major Dudley, then commanding officer of Sidney Barracks, sent out detachments from that post to search for the raiding parties. Captain Wessell's company was ordered into the field to assist with Dudley's operation. McClellan made brief entries in his journals recording the scout.)

Feb. 11, 1874 We are to start after the Sioux Indians

Feb 11, 1874 Left D. A. Russell by the cars [railroad] got out at Potter's Station⁶ 85 miles below in Nebraska. We are 61 men strong.

Feb. 12 left the railroad and made a ranch 35 miles north lots of Indian signs all day.

13 Made a ranch 30 miles north west lorings ranch

14 Back to the camp of the 12th

15 made 12 miles to Milcots Ranch

Feb 16 made a short scout & back again to the same ranch at night. Went west

17 made a long march to Sidney & put up with A Comp.⁷

18 We are at Sidney yet A Troop was ordered out to the South Plat this morning.

19 A Com. got back this evening & reported 1000 Indians under command of Pawnee Killer.⁸ Eight of us is to go to their camp in the morning.

March 31, 1874 I was made Serg. today & it is not yet a year since I was made a Corporal. The Captain gave me a great recommendation.

This unique building at Fort D. A. Russell was sketched by McClellan. It was directly in front of the guard house and was called, "The Officers' Guard."

(Activities of hostile bands of Indians north of Fort Fred Steele led post commander Lt. Col. Luther Bradley to request an additional cavalry company to that post. In response, Company H was hurried west via the railroad from Fort Russell. Because the soldiers were new to the country, Bradley hired a civilian guide to accompany them. For several weeks Company H scouted through the Seminoe Range, and followed Indian trails some 90 miles beyond the Sweetwater River. After picking up a number of panicky miners in the Seminoes, the company returned to Fort Steele temporarily to await other duties.)

Ft. D. A. Russell, Wyo. Saturday July 18 74

Received orders to pack up & made a start at 5 PM Put our horses on board the cars at Camp Carling⁹ & we will ride in them all night.

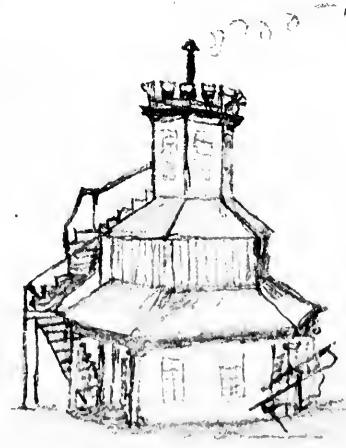
July 19 After a hard ride in cars without sleep. Made Fred Steele¹⁰ at 12. We saddled up at four & took the road again. made sulphur Spring about 11 PM in the night. Water bad.

Ju 20 Started at 6 AM Rout N.N.E. found the Red Cloud Gulch¹¹ no water till 3 PM Made a camp about 3 miles from the seminoal Mines¹² time of camping 5 PM.

July 21 Marched by the Mines & down Dwees Creek,¹³ most of the time through the mountains. Camped on the Banks of the North Platt & the creek at the mouth of the Dewees Creek Time of camping 2 PM

July 22 Started at 5 AM & the Captain taking the first Platoon & going down the river. The second Plat to go with the wagons. I was in the 2nd Plat. We kept to the left & crossed sand Plains 6 miles, then good going. Two men from Capt with orders for us to keep down Sand Creek & meet him. found Capt 3 miles from Platt. Went into camp. Capt found Indian trail. Took 40 men & followed up the trail. Left 8 men in camp of Co. H 3 wagon drivers & 1 citizen to guard camp. killed antelope.

July 23 Camp was moved today to the bank of North Plat at the mouth of sand creek.



Round stone at F. Russell
cost U.S.\$30,000
J. S. McClellan



AMH PHOTOS

The isolation and starkness of early Fort Russell are eloquently expressed in both these illustrations. Officers' Row (above) offers few, if any, amenities. The panorama (below) shows the absence of comforting vegetation. The hexagonal tower is at the right, center.



July 24 Nothing new. all was smooth in camp no troubles from Indians although we keep a good look out.

July 25 Two hunting parties went out and was unable to kill any game Expect Capt. back in a day or two. It goes hard for me to live on hard tack & bacon for I am still weak from the fever.

July 26 Sunday Cpt. came into camp 12 M. the company almost starved. Only one camp of good water. crossed alkali plains the rout the trail took was N.W. had to turn back from want of food. We had lots of antelope for them. They had a hard time. went on guard 4 men. two posts to go on at day light.

July 27 remained in camp on Sand Creek. turned in our extra ammunition. everything goes on as usual.

July 28 Up 4:30 so as to make an early start on the back track. Went up the Dewees Creek passed the mines. got to our old camp on Red Cloud Gulch. kill 6 very large rattle snakes up on entering camp.

July 29 Early start. crossed the divide to Browns Cannon. found a good camp: with plenty grass & water. I forgot to say that all the people from the mines are with us. They are afraid to stop there any more. our waggons are loaded with their stuf. so the mines are stopped running for a time rumors of Indian trouble last Sunday 30 miles below F. Steele.¹⁴

July 30 Made an early start. Now we are of for Steele again. Made Steele about 3 PM Put up in the empty quarters of the absent Cavalry Co. of the 2nd Cav. got soft Bread big thing goes good after eating hard tack got a letter from Mary & answered it.

July 31 Making ourselves as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. Was appointed 1st Sergt to day. That acting for this time.

August 1st 74 Was made full first sergeant in Sergt Holmes place. wrote to mother Fine weather washed the Quarters out. got the Hoes and don it in a short time.

August 2 The Captain gave orders for 22 men to be ready at 5 AM in the morning with four days rations to start after Indians who jumped a Hay camp about 30 miles from here.¹⁵

August 2 the party got of at 4 PM & so that leaves us here with 26 men. Col. Bradley¹⁶ was around to look at the Qts. I asked him to relieve this co. from supplying main guards and he said he would.

Aug 3 Nothing new all runs smoothly in the company. and we have not to furnish men for main guard till the company comes back.

Aug 4 nothing new

Aug 5 Went with 12 men under command of Lt. Baker.¹⁷ went down the Platt about 6 miles & back. Found that the company was back before us. They found no Indians. They

were at Pine Grove.¹⁸

6. 7. 8th Nothing new

Aug 9 L Co. 5th Cav passed through this post today. Hill of that co joins his company by order of Col _____ (illegible)

Aug 11 1874 List of Ammunition

6 boxes Carbine Cal. 45

5709 Rounds

1 Box Pistol Cal. 45

1200 Rounds

(Continuing raids and attacks by Arapahoe, Cheyenne, and Sioux bands in central Wyoming during the late summer of 1874 led to the formation of the Big Horn Expedition. Organized by Department of the Platte Commander General E. O. C. Ord, the purpose of the expedition was to serve as a mobile column to scout for and attack hostile bands when located. The expedition was commanded by Captain Anson Mills, 3rd Cavalry, and consisted of two companies of the 2nd Cavalry, three of the 3rd Cavalry (including Company H), and one company each from the 4th and 13th Infantry. For over a month the troops extensively searched the Sweetwater and Powder River country north of old Fort Caspar. Although Mills described his force as "a command a Colonel will be proud of . . . excellently equipped . . . in fine spirits,"¹⁹ the column accomplished no great results. However, many felt the hostiles were intimidated by this show of force, and many returned to the agencies. On September 26, the expedition disbanded and Company H returned to Fort Russell. Sergeant McClellan's journal details the operations of his company and the hardships incurred by the expedition.)

First Scout of the Big Horn Expedition

Aug 20-74 1st camp²⁰

Left Rawlins 9 AM 5 companies of Cavalry 2 of infantry Wagons & Pack mules & about 30 scouts Made Browns cannon went into camp. 12 miles

Aug 21 2nd camp

Broke camp 5 AM Crossed the divide & made the Red Cloud gulch 4 PM Wagons did not get into camp till 9 PM 20 miles

Aug 22 3rd camp

Started 9 AM. The Wagons & "M" Company 3rd Cav went to make permanent camp on sand Creek. "H" & "F" Companies with 10 days rations went nort camp on sand creek Below Whisky Gap. good camp with lots of grass & water. not much wood—15 miles

August 23 4. camp

Started 5 AM, a little west of north. crossed the sweet water & a more beautiful stream I never saw made Bitter Creek 2 PM 20 miles near the old California Trail—20 miles.



FORT FRED STEELE W.T.

88203

AMH PHOTO

Aug 24 5 camp

Started 5 AM followed the old California road east found Indians signs came to red Butt at 1:30 & went into camp. had a good bath in the Platt river was wet through & my blankets. 20 miles

Aug 25 6 camp

Started at 5 AM Crossed the Platt went down the river Indian signs Made old Ft Casper²¹ camped on the left bank of the river. 12 miles. Capt Moor²² took his company & went down the river. Scout came into camp at noon with a note to Capt Wessells to join him Moor at day light

Aug 26 7 camp

We started down the river. met party of F Co. who said that Capt Moor was gone on ahead & for us to follow. made 25 miles & went into Camp 25 miles

August 27 8. camp

Capt Van Vleit²³ came into camp that is 7 camp this morning started at 6 AM Went up the river found Indian trail 25 Indians passed along our trail of yesterday. Trail 12 hours old. Went into camp to wait for a party who is to come south in the night Pickets put out on the hills. distance traveled 12 miles

Aug 28 9 camp

did not start until 1 O'Clock PM Went up the Plat Passed old Ft Casper Camped at red Buttes 25 miles

Aug 29/74 10 camp

started at 6 AM left the river & went west along the California trail camped at Bitter Creek 1 mile above camp no. 4 good grass & water

Aug 30-31- Camp 11

got into Perminent camp on sweet Watter. started out in the evening of the 31 With 5 companies of cavalry. end of first scout

Fort Fred Steele . . . where McClellan enjoyed "soft Bread," after days of hard tack.

Property in charge on trip commencing Aug 1874

7 Tents & Poles

1 axe

1 Spade

1 Pick axe

50 Tent Pins

List of Props in charge of Serg. Loeser

6 Common Tents 1 Pick axe

1 Wall Tent 1 spade

50 Tent Pins 1 Box Cartridges 709 Carbine Cartridges

1 axe 518 Pistol do

Second scout of Big Horn Expedition

August 31 74 1st camp

started from camp on sweet Water river at 7 PM & march a night march north. Had lots of trouble with the Pack mules got into camp on Wickie up creek about 2 AM. The expedition consists of 5 companies of cavalry & a lot of Scouts under Buffalo Bill²⁴ 20 miles

Sept 1st 2nd camp

did not leave camp until 2 PM very cold wind blowing crossed rattlesnake range rain at 3 PM rained so hard caused us to go into camp on half inch creek. The whole command is wet through hardly got into camp upon it commensed to snow This is awful no place to sleep. We will have to do the best we can Snow bent in my tent

Sept 2 2 camp

God but it is cold. Were not able to leave camp no grass for the horses. in fact there is nothing but cold & snow one horse droped dead the property of 2nd cav. Two men deserted belonging to I 3rd cav & took their horses. We cannot leave here now for we cannot pack the mules. We are in a frightful way. I wish to God I was out of it.²⁵

Sept 3 3 camp

got up after a sleepless night in wet Blankets to find it still snowing & cold But it cleared of about 10 AM & the sun came out bright—got orders to pack up & try & make a start. Was until 1 PM drying our saddle Blankets At last got into the saddle our horses are so weak that they totter under us. got out of the snow region & found a good grass on a creek which I will call Creek of good hope.

Sept 4 4 camp 6 miles

Started at 6 AM ground soft & muddy & our horses very weak. traveled north can find no water & our horses giving out. 12 M no water yet one horse left on the road & we are obliged to walk most of the time & to urge on the used up horses got into camp at dark found some water holes where the rain has lodged it is thick with mud but it seems the best water I ever drank. Passed herds of Buffalo.

Sept 5 5 camp

started to cross the mountains this afternoon 12 M Climbed mountains where men looked like flies on the wall. Camped on a small creek The body of a Sioux Indian in poles near camp²⁶ 12 miles

Sept 6 6 camp

left camp early this morning & commensed to climb the hills again This is the hardist work I ever don But the only way Find Indians camped on a small creek running east. Passed herds of Elk.

Sept 7 7 camp 18 miles

At 8 O'Clock this morning we were in the saddle We are still in the mountains. 30 miles to. shot three Bear on the spot Splendid grass all along.

Sept 8 8 camp

trying to get out of the mountains this morning & had to retrace out trail, We had went about six miles When we came out on the edge of the Clifs. Went back & camped about one mile from Camp no. 7 12 miles.

Sept 9 9 camp

Made a long ride this day & got out of the mountains after climbing up the cannons. got out on the Powder river went into camp under a large Red Butte lots of indian signs about 60 lodges passed through this place.

Sept 10 10 camp

left camp at 8 AM marched down the river to old Ft. Reno²⁷ 30 miles.

Sept 11

remained in camp all day. We had to rest to let the horses rest. We are loosing so many. This camp necessary.

Sept 12 11 camp

Crossed the country making for the Platt had to go into camp at a water hole Bad water & poor grass 18 miles

Sept 13 12 camp

very dusty today. Went 21 miles & camped on the same

chain of water tables alkali water & that dry all up in the night & we had to pull out of camp without any.

Sept 14 13 camp

No water this morning. no water all along. We are dropping horses all day. D Co of the 2nd Cav lost 10 horses before we struck the Platt. got into camp on the Platt 3 miles below Caspar at 5 PM 38 miles

Sept 15 13 camp

remain here today to rest the horses

Sept 16 14 camp

Started at 8 AM Went to red Buttes. met the wagons & there was a great rush for rations The horses was wild for grain.

Sept 17 15 camp

Felt good this morning with a prospect of soon getting to the sweet water. it is very cold had to wear our great coats all day—got to Bitter Creek & went into camp snow all night & cold wind

Sept 18 16 camp

I asked permission to go ahead of the command & have a meal for this company upon their arrival in sweetwater. started & got to camp at 11 AM after a hard ride in the rain. Command arrived at 1 PM & now for a rest

Sept 19 20 21 Camp Sweetwater near Independence Rock I will make no more notes while at this camp for the _____ (illegible) everywhere but I am enjoying a good rest & the horses are picking up fast.

(Throughout the winter and spring of 1874-75, Company H remained at Fort Russell. In March the company was sent out to apprehend parties trespassing on the Sioux Reservation enroute to the Black Hills. In May, a scientific expedition was sent into the Black Hills to confirm the reports of gold made by Custer the year before. McClellan's company was one of six cavalry companies sent along as escorts. On October 15 the expedition disbanded and Company H was transferred to Fort McPherson, Nebraska.)

In the spring of 1876 while other 3rd Cavalry units were ordered into the Great Sioux War, Company H remained at Fort McPherson. On June 24, the day before Custer's monumental defeat, the company was ordered into camp at the North Platte bridge on the Sidney-Deadwood road. For the next three months, McClellan's unit guarded the bridge and patrolled the road north to the Red Cloud Agency and Camp Robinson.

The summer war against the Sioux turned into disaster followed by several months of largely unsuccessful pursuit by the Army. However, General George Crook was determined to attack and punish the hostiles, forcing them to return to the agencies. In October 1876, the Powder River Expedition was organized for a winter campaign. The combative arm of the expedition consisted of a cavalry battalion of 11 companies, an infantry battalion also of 11 companies, 4 companies of artillery (utilized as infantry), and a large number of Shoshoni, Arapahoe, Sioux, and

Cheyenne auxiliaries. To supply this large column required nearly 200 wagons and 400 mules with about 300 civilian teamsters and packers. On November 1, Company H arrived at Fort Laramie to become part of the expedition. Several weeks later the cavalry battalion, under the command of Col. Ranald S. MacKenzie, 4th Cavalry, attacked and destroyed a large Northern Cheyenne village in the southern Big Horn Mountains.

McClellan's second journal describes the march and battle at the village in this campaign, called "the most severe on men and animals in the annals of Indian warfare."²⁸

JOURNAL OF THE POWDER RIVER EXPEDITION 1876

Nov. 2.76 Co. H 3rd Cav arrived at Ft Laramie where we received orders to join the Powder river expedition remained here two days and on the 5th commenced the march to Fort Fetterman²⁹ where we arrived without accident on Nov 9th The Infantry troops of the command came & camped about 2 miles below us on the river.

Nov 10 & 11 was spent in making preparations for the expedition

Nov 12. Snow began to fall last night and continued all night. Very cold this morning.

13.Nov. Received orders about 9 PM this evening to pack up and start in the morning

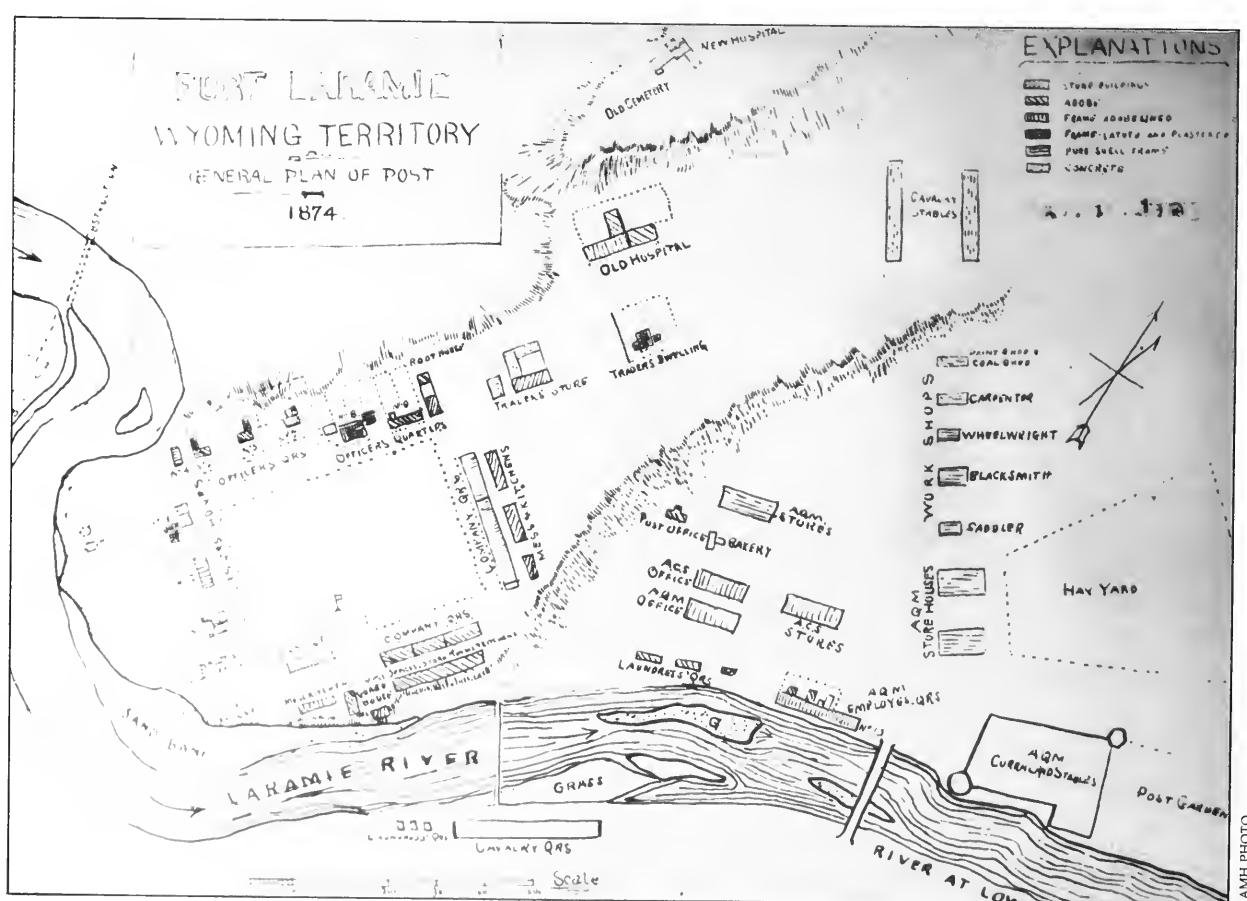
14 Nov. Broke camp at daylight and marched to the north The Infantry broke camp at the same time and the whole command is now together also the supply train camped at Sage Creek 15 miles.

Nov 15." Broke camp at daylight marched to the south fork of the Cheyenne river 15 miles. Yesterday while on the march the QM clerk Seymour and the asst. wagon master having gone out on the flank were run in by four Indians.

Nov 16. Broke camp at daylight Marched to a creek 18 miles from last camp Paymaster in bringing mail at times this day we could see the whole command and the train. also the Indian scouts. This is the first day we could do so. The command strung out over five miles of road. Great numbers of the men have the diarrhea.

Nov.17. Remained in camp until 9 AM. Sent the wagons out about 8 AM. it commenced snowing about daylight but stopped before we got into the saddle and as we marched along it grew quite fine but cold. as we reached the top of the divide the Powder River Valley and the Big Horn Mountains then burst on our view in all their splendor. The mountains all clad in snow. We could see over sixty miles to the North West. Punkin Butts³⁰ on our right.

This plat shows Fort Laramie as Co. H., 3rd Cavalry would have seen it before the Powder River Expedition of 1876.



Camped on a dry fork of the Powder river 20 miles from last camp. The packers who had reached camp about an hour before the column reported some Indians, who left the creek and run to the east or toward the Butts.³¹

Nov.18'' Broke camp at sunrise and marched down the Dry Fork to the Powder River. crossed it at the new post³² and went into camp on the north side. a number of shoshonie Indians joined us today³³ Marched 19 miles.

Nov.20'' remained in camp. Two men died one of Co. H 5 Cav and one of the arty.³⁴

Nov.21. Moved about one mile down the river.

Nov.22. Broke camp at daylight and marched to Crazy Womans fork 28 miles. Scouts came in and reported a large village of Indians to the northward. We received orders to start tomorrow with pack mule transportation and leave the wagons behind. drew rations at midnight.

It was very cold while in the saddle today and we had to walk a good deal. We could see lots of buffalo away to the North East. Col. MacKenzie shot three on arriving in this camp.

Nov.23.'' We started at 9 am left wagons behind and pack mule transportation. We marched up the creek then along the east side of the mountains. We camped on a creek which empties into Crazy Woman. The ground was very wet and uncomfortable for all hands and not much wood for to make fires.

Nov. 24. at daylight we were again in the saddle. Still continue to march along the mountains often crossing deep muddy creeks. several men were thrown of their horses and one of Co F 4th cav was nearly drowned his horse fell from the bank. All at once the scouts came in reporting a large village of Indians about 15 miles to the south west We at once turned in toward the mountains and camped on a small creek where we got orders to make no fires and take a dry lunch and fix up for a night march on the Indians.

We remained in this camp until 4 pm. Feed our horses and moved out keeping up a good rapid walk until dark. Then the roughness of the road and darkness prevented us from making much headway and as after dark we marched mostly through the mountains, across deep wash outs. The road seemed twice as long as it was. sometimes the head of the column would be checked and have to string out in single file. This would cause us to sit in the saddle for half an hour at a time. I was so sleepy and tired I could not keep awake.

About two hours before day light we had a halt of about an hour. all the command came up. We then moved forward as rapid as possible. The Indian warriors came by us on the run Nov.25th in all their war rig and we could see there was something up and in a few minutes the three companies ahead of us moved forward at the run. We kept up with them and as we passed through a deep cannon,

we could hear our Indians give their war cry and in a few minutes more of the village came in sight. It was in a deep revine between hugh mountains as we came in the Indians broke and ran for the bluffs. Co. H 3rd was dismounted and strung along to the right where a lot of indians had got into a cannon We charged them on foot and the bullets flew as thick as hail lots of men fell on both sides as we run in on them. They broke and run. one of them being about 15 yards from me I shot him through the small of the back. he fell on his face. I run up and gave him a few pistol shots took his gun, a sharps carbine and as I was doing so a Pawnee came up and took the coup.³⁵ I could not scalp him as it looked so bad for a white man to commence to mutilate the dead in that way. I passed on up the revine. We drove the Indians up to the top then I returned to the place where the Indian I killed and two others were lying. I found a white man scalping them he was one of the scouts.³⁶ The company stood fire like a brick and we had some hard fighting We were on the skirmish line from daylight until dark 9 hours.

In the afternoon I went down to where the horses were and found that all was right. Wounded in the fight Serg. Cunningham in the ankle, Holden, in shoulder ball remaining in it³⁷ Talmage a flesh wound in the back There was 5 men killed and 26 wounded one of the killed was an officer Lt. McKinney.³⁸

We camped on the battle ground. it snowed in the morning and as all saddled up it was falling fast that we could not see tops of the bluffs. Before moving out we burnt all the plunder lots of dried meat and Buffalo robes and 173 lodges in all. We captured a lot of ponies I cannot tell just how many Indians was killed but I saw 11 on the ground.³⁹

Nov.26'' about 11 o'clock the comd moved out taking our dead and wounded with us on pack mules. We marched down the Powder River about 10 miles & camped.

Nov 27. We broke camp about 10 am and marched to the north. We expected an attack today as the scouts reported another large village to the west and as we were the last company of the rear guard I felt uneasy for fear they would cut us off Lots of horses gave out and were shot along the trail. our horses are very week and the snow that has been falling the past two mornings makes the road very slippery. We marched 14 miles and camped on a fork of the Powder River. When in camp about two hours a herd of buffalo came in to the Indian Scouts camp and they fired a volley into them. We of course thought it was another attack but soon found out what it was.

Nov.28. Marched to the south fork of the Crazy Woman. all along the road you could hear the report of fire arms as they were shooting played out horses. Yesterday we met the Infantry who had come to help us, but they turned back and returned to the wagon train.

We had a hard camp here no wood of much account & it was very hard to get enough to cook breakfast. Want

of grass and rest has made our horses very weak & I fear that if we do not get grain soon we will all be on foot.

Marched 10 miles today.

Nov.29. Broke camp at daylight and marched down the river to the wagon train and we were in great need of rest and the shelter the tents afford us as the past two or three days has been very cold and some snow fell each morning making it very hard for both men and horses.

We received our mail here. and it is rumored that we are to return to winter quarters.

Nov.30th 1876 Remained in camp at about 11 am received an order to have 25 of the best men and horses ready to move out at a moments notice as the Scouts had gone out and they expect them to return in the evening with news that the Cheyenne Indians under White Antelope were near at hand and we were to pull out and pursue them again.⁴⁰ at noon we had a funeral. all the cavalry turned out mounted and armed. we buried five of the men shot at the Powder river cannon fight. The officer is to be taken east.⁴¹

Dec.1st 1876 No news today as yet. the party did not go after the Cheyennes as the Scouts have not returned yet. Was up to the hospital to see the wounded. Found them in good spirits Holden is the worst They have not got the ball out of his shoulder yet but they say it will not trouble him. There is some bad cases of men shot through the lungs.

The Infantry who had marched to help us at the fight suffered much from the cold and a number of them has feet and ears frozen.

No news I said why Hell! We received orders to be ready in the morning for the march to Reno.

Dec. 2 '76 Broke camp at daylight. Marched to Cantonment at old Ft. Reno 28 miles. It was a slow long march and our horses very tired or as the Big Injun would say a heap damn tired.

The ground was very slippery and c (cold) make it very hard for smooth shood horses⁴² it was dark when we got to the Powder river. No one can tell what this movement is for. Some think we will go up the Bell Fourch & around the Black Hills, some say we will go straight home. in fact no one knows where we will go tomorrow. the wagons did not get in until late and it was about nine before we got supper & as we had breakfast before daylight, every man was hungry as could be.

Dec.3.'76 Broke camp at 9 am marched up the Dry Fork and camped 20 miles. do not know what to make out of this movement but tomorrow will decide.

Dec. 4. "76 got orders this morning to send all but fifty men of each co. with wounded in to Fetterman. The fifty from each company is to make a scout.⁴³ remained in camp all day.

Dec.5 1876 packed up but did not get orders to move out.

Very windy all day and signs of a snow storm.

Dec.6."76 Marched to a dry creek or Gulch where we camped. 7 miles Now we find how hard it is to travel in this country in winter.

No wood & very little water & cold All hands find it very hard to keep warm. and as it was late when we got to camp we had not much chance to make ourselves comfortable.

Dec.7. "1876 Broke camp at daylight and marched 15 miles to the head of the Bell Fourch. snow all day and very cold. got to camp at dark Wagons did not come in until long after.

Dec 8 "76 Marched 18 miles down river got in camp late But got lots of wood here and as we camped in a deep cannon we were pretty comfortable Men commenced to growl about everything as our horses are very week we have no easy time.

Dec.9. Marched 4 miles down a river to a camp where we got lots of wood but poor grass. They gave orders that we would remain here two or three days. but about dark revoked it and gave orders for a move at 10 tomorrow We got 458 lbs of fresh beef.⁴⁴

Dec.10." As the grass was very poor when we camped last night we moved down the river about 5 miles to a good camp.

Dec 11."76 We remained in camp today. heard that a Pawnee and a white man had been killed up the river yesterday by the Indians, but they were not scalped and as the white man did have a lot of gold dust, I think he was killed by the miners who are following up the command.⁴⁵

Dec.12"76 Remained in camp. The Infantry moved down the river and went beyond us to a new camp all kinds of reports come in. Some say that Crazy Horse is only 40 miles from here in a strong position and has rifle pits dug all around his village. very fine weather the past two days and warm.

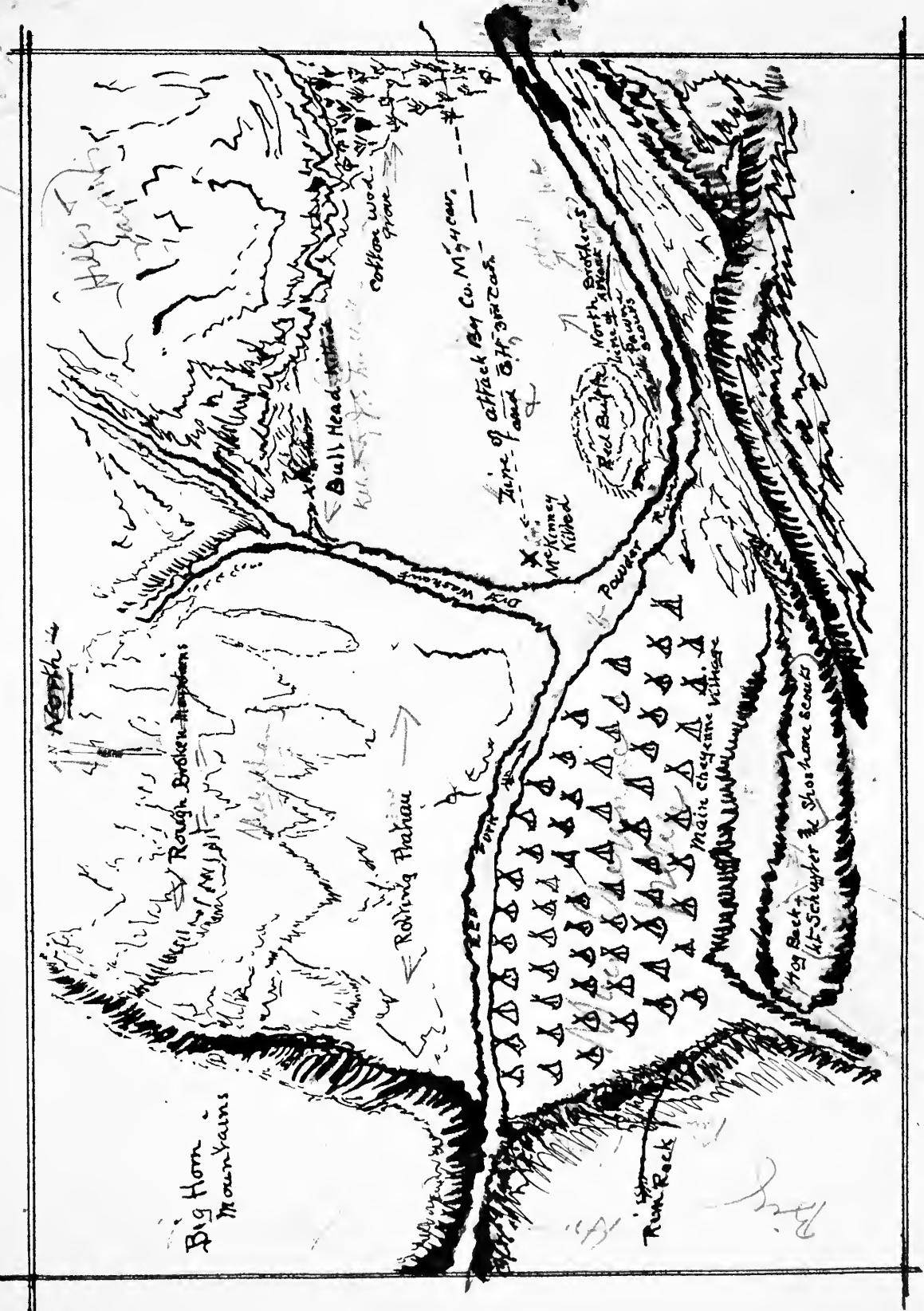
Dec. 13 '76 Marched down the river about six miles and the Co camped under a tree where nine dead indians had been buried the grass along this stream is very poor here today that the Exp. would move south as soon as the wagons come back from the dry fork with our supplies.

Dec.14"76 Remained in camp. Very cold in the morning but turned rather warm in the PM.

Dec 15.'76 Remained in camp quite warm but shows signs of a heavy snow storm to the north. drew rations for five days. no movement in orders yet and it seems as though we would pass some more time here yet.

Dec.16" No signs of a move yet. a trader arrived in camp yesterday and of course he is like all the rest charges wonderful prices for his goods.⁴⁶

Dec.17"76 Remained in camp



This map of the Dull Knife Battle was prepared by McClellan in 1930. It shows the lines of attack and where he killed Bull Head.

Dec 18." No move yet and it seems as though Crook did not know his own mind⁴⁷

Dec.19 '76 Moved camp about 2 miles down river.

Dec.20" Remained in camp. the Infantry moved camp below us about a mile. not a soul seems to know how long the expedition will last.

Dec.21 ''76 Remained in camp snow this morning and cold wind

Dec 22 ''76 Broke camp at 6 AM and marched up river 10 miles. I had on a hat and suffered greatly from cold as it snowed all day.

Dec.23 Marched up river and went in to camp late. made only about 15 miles it was extremely cold to-day and a strong wind. There was a lot of men frozen and during the night 2 mules died from cold.

Dec.24 " Marched 8 miles up river and camped on our old camp of the 8"—very little wood and very cold Thermometer went down to -42 below zero and froze. had to melt snow to make coffee. this is the coldest we have had yet. in fact I do not know how cold it was as we could not tell the mercury having froze. One man in the Co. had his feet frozen while on guard during the night and I can see lots of men riding in the ambulances with frozen hands and feet.⁴⁸

Dec. 25 ''76 Marched to the west of Pumkin Butts. very cold all day and horses giving out all along the road no more grain for them and no grass to amount to anything as the snow prevents the horses from grazing.⁴⁹

Dec.26. " Broke camp at 10 AM and marched to the Cheyenne river Though we suffer much, every one is bearing it as well as possible for we know we have now good prospects of a good place for the winter.

Dec.27. Marched south & camped on the Middle Cheyenne. Snow all day but got a good mail which makes up for all this.

Dec.28. Marched to Sage Creek very cold. got another mail

Dec.29. Marched to Fetterman & camped about 2 miles above the post on the creek snow all day & cold. We heard that we go to Omaha for the winter.

Dec. 30 Marched to Wagon Hound Creek.⁵⁰ snow all day & the wagons find hard work to get along. Was up to see the wounded Holden is improving but they could not find the ball although they probed 11 inches after it.

Dec. 31 Marched to Elk Horn.⁵¹ very cold & snowing

Jan.1 1877 New Years & still on the march. very cold. marched to Horse Shoe⁵² & camped

Jan.2 " Marched to Bull Bend⁵³ & camped, a fine day after all the cold, & we can go around in blouses.



STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN PHOTO

JAMES McCLELLAN, JUST AFTER HIS DISCHARGE IN 1877.

After the Powder River Expedition broke up, Company H was assigned to Sidney Barracks, Nebraska. After serving as part of the Sidney garrison for four months, Sgt. McClellan's company was transferred to Camp Robinson on May 23. Here his five-year term of enlistment expired, and he was honorably discharged on June 28, 1877. On his discharge certificate, Captain Wessells marked his character as "most excellent," and also noted on the back that he had participated in the Dull Knife battle and killed Bull Head.

Some 53 years later, MOTOR TRAVEL magazine, published by the American Automobile Club, ran an extensive series of articles on the Powder River Campaign of 1876. For nearly two years, monthly articles were presented. A few survivors of the campaign and Dull Knife battle were contacted to prepare installments in the series. McClellan, then living in North Little Rock, Arkansas, wrote seven such articles. In order to present an accurate record of events, he borrowed his journals from a New York collector who had them at the time.⁵⁴ McClellan's journal of the Powder River campaign appeared in two installments, heavily edited.

With this spawning interest in the campaign, McClellan suggested the time was right to produce a motion picture of the attack on the village. He felt it should be done while there were still a few survivors available to "participate in it and for consultation about the essential details."⁵⁵ He thought it would be a great success and even offered to be in it. However, nothing ever came of it and McClellan died quietly at the North Little Rock Veterans Facility Hospital in April, 1936. His journals were later purchased at auction in 1941 by the New York Library. Looking back at his Army years in Wyoming he wrote: "Those were great days—take it from any old cavalryman; they have gone, never to return, but deserve perpetuation in history."⁵⁶ By that time, McClellan also seemed to forget the bad aspects of frontier Army life with the passing of the years.

1. McClellan journal entry, May 7, 1873.
2. James S. McClellan, "A Day With the Fighting Cheyenne," *Motor Travel* (December 1930), p. 19.
3. Major Nathan Augustus Monroe Dudley ("North American Dudley") was a veteran soldier, who had served with the 3rd Cavalry since 1871. At different times he was commanding officer of Fort McPherson and Sidney Barracks in Nebraska.
4. Iron Mountain is located near the head of Chugwater Creek, about 45 miles northwest of Cheyenne. Company H, along with other units, was sent out in early September to scout the area for Indian bands. None were sighted.
5. This was a standard scoring method of target practice at the time. Three or four shots were fired by each individual, then the distance from the hit to the center of the target was measured. The distance in inches was totaled for the score.
6. Potter, Nebraska, is located on the Union Pacific Railroad 18 miles west of Sidney.
7. Sidney Barracks was established in December 1867, to furnish protection along the Union Pacific west of Fort Sedgwick, Colorado. Company A, 3rd Cavalry under the command of Captain William Hawley had been stationed at Sidney since May, 1872.
8. This figure is undoubtedly too high. On February 23, a group of Spotted Tail's Brule' came into the post heading back to their agency. Pawnee Killer's band of Oglalas remained hunting on the South Platte until April, when they returned to the Red Cloud Agency.
9. Because of the importance of Fort Russell as a supply point for the area, Camp Carlin was located as a separate supply depot in September, 1867, midway between Fort Russell and Cheyenne. Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 184-185.
10. Fort Fred Steele was established June 15, 1867, to protect the Union Pacific Railroad near its crossing of the North Plate River 15 miles east of Rawlins. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, p. 186.
11. Red Cloud Gulch is located in the Seminoe Range about 25 miles northwest of Fort Steele.
12. In July 1871, gold was discovered in the Seminoe Range north of Fort Steele. Although the finds were relatively minor, the Seminoe Mining District was attached to the command of Fort Steele for protection. Robert A. Murray, "Fort Fred Steele: Desert Outpost on the Union Pacific," *Annals of Wyoming* 44 (Fall, 1972), p. 161.
13. Deweese Creek is located in the Seminoe Range, flowing into the North Platte from the southwest. Both this camp and the later mentioned camp on Sand Creek are probably located under modern-day Pathfinder Reservoir.
14. On the evening of July 26, Indians ran off 70 horses from an emigrant train between Carbon and Medicine Bow. Murray, "Fort Fred Steele," p. 165.
15. On August 1, Indians attacked a civilian haying party about 15 miles south of Rawlins, killing a man named Johnson. Murray, "Fort Fred Steele," p. 165.
16. Lt. Col. Luther P. Bradley had served with the 9th Infantry since 1869. He was serving as post commander at the time.
17. Lt. Baker. Note: Baker's name and unit could probably be found on the post return for Ft. Steele for August, 1874.
18. This was the point the hay party was attacked south of Rawlins.
19. Letter from Captain Mills to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, dated August 31, 1874. General Orders, Orders, and Special Orders issued by expeditions, 1874-1879, NARS RG 98.
20. On August 11, Bradley had ordered Wessell's company and Co. D, 9th Infantry to the Sweetwater River to establish a supply camp for the expedition.
21. This was old Fort Caspar at the North Platte Bridge, scene of the historic Platte Bridge Station fight on July 26, 1865. The post was abandoned in October 1867. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, pp. 179-180.
22. Captain Alexander Moore, commanding Company F, 3rd Cavalry.
23. Captain Frederick Van Vliet, commanding Company C, 3rd Cavalry.
24. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody accompanied Mill's expedition. He was hired as chief scout at the rate of \$150 per month. Letter, Captain Mills to A.A.G., Dept. of the Platte, dated August 31, 1874. NARS RG 98.
25. The severe storm of September 2 evidently left a great impression on the military mind. It was even mentioned in General Sheridan's Division of the Missouri report to the Secretary of War that year. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), Pt. 1, pp. 25-26.
26. McClellan refers to a scaffold burial commonly used by Plains Indians.
27. Fort Reno was established in August 1865 for protection on the Bozeman Trail. The post was abandoned as a result of the Fort Laramie Treaty in April of 1868. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, pp. 183-184.
28. J. D. Ward, "Fort Fetterman," *Annals of Wyoming* 4 (January, 1927), p. 362.
29. Fort Fetterman, used as the main supply base for this campaign, was established in July 1867. The post was built for the protection of emigrant routes in the area. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, pp. 180-181.
30. Pumpkin Buttes, a familiar landmark in the Powder River country, is located just east of the Dry Fork of the Powder River in southwest Campbell County.
31. Captain Bourke reported in his diary that the supposed 6-8 Indians were discovered to be ". . . whitemen (horse thieves, perhaps)." *Diary of John Gregory Bourke*, Vol. 14, p. 389. Microfilm copy on deposit at the Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln.
32. Cantonment Reno was established three miles above the site of old Fort Reno on October 14, 1876. Its purpose was to serve as a supply point for campaigns in the Powder River country. Robert A. Murray, *Military Posts of the Powder River Country of Wyoming, 1865-1894*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), pp. 110-118.
33. Shoshoni allies left Camp Brown the last week in October. Crook also utilized several hundred friendly Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Sioux auxiliaries in this campaign. This was in addition to 100 Pawnee Scouts under the command of Major Frank North.
34. One of the soldiers (a recruit) became drunk and wandered off during the evening of the 19th. He died of exposure shortly after being brought back to camp. As a result, a civilian following the column to sell whiskey had his stock seized and destroyed. *Bourke Diary*, p. 401.

35. Thinking they might be of use in the conflict, McClellan picked up the warrior's carbine and cartridge belt. The belt was later identified as belonging to Little Wolf. This led some soldiers to believe that McClellan had killed the Cheyenne chief. Several months later at Camp Robinson, it was discovered he shot Bull Head, a half-brother of Little Wolf. In the sudden confusion of the attack, Bull Head evidently grabbed the other's arms before entering the fight. McClellan, *Motor Travel* (March 1930), p. 19.
36. In later recalling the incident, McClellan commented, "I did not think much of a scout who would go behind the firing line to take his scalps in comfort and comparative safety." McClellan, *Motor Travel* (February, 1931), p. 21.
37. Henry Holden was the pitcher of the Company H baseball team. He was seriously wounded, and it was a year before surgeons were able to remove the bullet. McClellan, *Motor Travel* (January, 1931), p. 22.
38. Soldiers killed in the engagement were: 1st Lt. John A. McKinney, Co. M, 4th Cav.; Corp. Patrick Ryan, Co. D, 4th Cav.; Pvt. John Sullivan, Co. B, 4th Cav.; Pvt. Allen Keller, Co. E, 4th Cav.; Pvt. John Menges, Co. H, 5th Cav.; Pvt. Beard, unit unknown.
39. Mackenzie's report of the fight listed 25 confirmed Cheyenne killed, but thought the number might be higher. Other estimates run as high as 40 Cheyenne killed. *Bourke Diary*, p. 465.
40. White Antelope was a Cheyenne chief the soldiers expected to rally the Cheyennes and others of Crazy Horse's band to attack in retaliation. This never took place. McClellan, *Motor Travel*, (January, 1931), p. 22.
41. Alexander McFarland, Co. L, 5th Cavalry, died of wounds received in the fight as the column returned to the camp on Crazy Woman's Creek. McKinney's body was shipped to a brother in Memphis, Tennessee. *Bourke Diary*, pp. 439-440. McClellan records that Private Beard's body was buried by mistake on the battlefield before the soldiers retired. McClellan, *Motor Travel* (September, 1930), p. 10.
42. This proved fatal on one occasion. On December 1, Sgt. Patterson of Co. I, 4th Cavalry, died of internal injuries received when his horse slipped and fell on him. *Bourke Diary*, p. 441.
43. Crook had full intentions to continue up the Belle Fourche and Little Missouri River valleys in search of Crazy Horse's band.
44. A small herd of beef cattle accompanied the column. The cattle were slaughtered and the meat distributed to the command as needed. On the night of December 6, the cattle herd stampeded nearly 20 miles to the west before being recovered. *Bourke Diary*, p. 454.
45. On December 10, a small party of Cheyenne attacked an unguarded camp of 11 miners who were following the column. One miner was killed as the others fled, abandoning their camp and equipment. *Bourke Diary*, p. 476.
46. An authorized trader from Fort Fetterman, who sold canned goods to the soldiers at the price of \$1.00 per can. McClellan, *Motor Travel* (January, 1931), p. 22.
47. McClellan later wrote that his journal comments represented ". . . the state of mind of the rank and file at the time, without thought that any comments would be printed." McClellan, *Motor Travel* (January, 1931), p. 22.
48. Bourke described the camp as "extremely cheerless." *Bourke Diary*, p. 536.
49. McClellan recalled he "blew himself to one drink at 75 cents" on Christmas Day. McClellan, *Motor Travel* (January, 1931), p. 22.
50. Wagonhound Creek is about seven miles south of present-day Douglas, on the south side of the North Platte River.
51. Elkhorn Creek, midway between present-day Orin and Glendo, is in northern Platte County.
52. Horse Shoe Creek is about three miles south of Glendo.
53. Bull Bend was a point on the North Platte River about 30 miles west of Fort Laramie.
54. Both the journals and belt plate from Little Wolf's cartridge belt were then in the western Americana collection of Guthrie Y. Barber of New York City. McClellan, *Motor Travel* (December, 1930), p. 19.
55. McClellan, *Motor Travel* (January, 1931), p. 21.
56. McClellan, *Motor Travel* (February, 1931), pp. 20-21.



AMH PHOTO

*The Wyoming
State Capitol*
by
Sheila Sundquist Peel

Many people have stood at the head of Capitol Avenue in Cheyenne and looked squarely north at the monumental building that dominates that street. We have noted its similarity to the nation's Capitol and the capitol buildings of thirty-five other states. The obvious questions concerning the impulse behind using this style of architecture re-occur and focus our attention on the choices made by the capitol building committee some one hundred years ago. What does the design represent? What does this building say about the founders of Wyoming and their hopes for this territory?

I plan to explore the choices made by this committee and then look further at the reactions of the people of Wyoming to this design and the implications of these choices. We know that the Wyoming Capitol Building is more than just the house of our government. Let's find out just what we can conclude about this building from our historical perspective.

According to an article in the July 23, 1890 *Illustrated Edition* of the *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, the building was even then impressive. "In all Cheyenne, which is preeminently a city of handsome buildings, no structure compares in massiveness and beauty with Wyoming's statehouse, a noble structure at the head of Capitol Avenue."

But this building did not come easily to Wyoming. The Ninth Territorial Legislative Assembly authorized the construction of the State Capitol Building in Cheyenne in 1886 even though Governor Warren had not recommended such a building. Governor Francis E. Warren, noting that Wyoming owned no public buildings, recommended to the Legislature that an insane asylum and a school for the deaf and dumb be built. The legislature, with the approval of the United States Congress, provided for these institutions and a university building and capitol building. The act provided for the construction of a capitol building at Cheyenne at a cost not to exceed \$150,000.

The governor was directed to nominate a capitol commission of five legislators to direct the construction. The commission was to find a suitable site in the city, hire a competent architect, and award the construction contract. The commissioners appointed by Governor Warren were Erasmus Nagle, elected chairman at the first, March 17th, meeting, Charles N. Potter, elected secretary, Nathaniel R. Davis, Morton E. Post, and Nicolas O'Brien. All of these men lived in Cheyenne and represented Laramie County in the legislature. They were to select a building worthy to serve their territorial legislature that would reflect the popular attitude toward appropriate surroundings for the law makers. This attitude appears to be one of permanence unlike Nathaniel Hawthorne's suggestion in *The House of the Seven Gables*.

I doubt whether even our public edifices—our capitols, state houses, courthouses, city hall, and churches—ought to be built of such permanent materials as stone or brick. It were better that they should crumble to ruin once in twenty years, or thereabouts, as a hint to the people to examine into and reform the institutions which they symbolize. (Hawthorne p. 193)

This capitol building was being built to stand for years and was to be a legacy to the future. It was not a selection that would be made lightly. In the commission's final report they noted that "such a building would be serviceable and reflect credit upon the territory." (WCBC Report p. 8) An obvious model would be the nation's Capitol.

But this model did not spring up all at once. The United States Capitol Building was built from plans submitted by Dr. William Thornton, a young physician from the Virgin Islands, in the 1793 Capitol Building design competition. Construction of the capitol was supervised by Benjamin Henry Latrobe and finally completed in 1827 under Charles Bulfinch. The capitol had two wings topped by a copper-covered dome. This Palladian style of architecture was proposed by Thomas Jefferson who felt that the new American states had a kinship with the ancient republics of Greece and Rome and that the style of their ancient temples was expressive of the monumental dignity that should attach to American public buildings. (Daniel p. 137)

In 1851, Thomas W. Walter won the competition for the "Architect of the Capitol Extension" for renovations and restructuring of the capitol dome. On December 2, 1863, the capitol, as it stands today, was completed. During the Civil War Abraham Lincoln ordered that the dome construction continue in spite of all odds because, "when the people see the dome rising it will be a sign that we intend the union to go on," he said. (Craig p. 86)

That dome made its impression on state capitol architecture. A rash of dome building began. Wisconsin, in 1866, added a dome to its eclectic capitol. Illinois' domed state capitol rose from 1868 to 1888. Indiana began building its domed capitol in 1878. The winning plans for the state capitol of New York were thrown out in 1871 by the Commissioners of the Land Office because the capitol had no central dome. (Hitchcock p. 174) Michigan hired E. E. Myers to design its domed state capitol later that year. Ten years later Myers won the competition for designing the Texas State capitol, with a dome! That commission board boasted that the new capitol, "of all similar structures in America . . . is second in size only to the National Capitol at Washington, D.C." (Hitchcock p. 186)

When the 1883 capitol competition for Colorado's capitol building ended in a three way tie, the Colorado Commissioners purchased all three plans and engaged Myers to combine them into one great plan. His invitation to submit plans to the Wyoming Capitol Building Commission was not as profitable.

Previous Page. The Capitol Building as it appeared shortly after completion in 1888. The east and west walls were constructed so that wings could be added later.

The Wyoming Capitol Building Commission authorized advertisements for an architect in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, the *Cheyenne Democratic Leader* and the *Cheyenne Daily Tribune* on March 17, 1886, but offered no premium for any plans submitted. At their next meeting twelve days later, Mr. D. W. Gibbs of Toledo, Ohio, was the first architect to approach the commission. He "addressed the commission with reference to submitting a plan for the Capitol Building and a general discussion occurred between him and the various members of the commission relation to the requirements of such a plan." (WCBC minutes p. 14)

At the April 29, 1886 commission meeting, a resolution offered by Mr. Post stated that "any plans offered by any architect for the state Capitol Building shall not be exhibited or shown to any parties except to the members of the commission and such experts as the commission may choose to examine such plans." (WCBC minutes p.28) The following discussion of various plans submitted to the commission and the charges later made by Myers may explain this statement made by the commission.

At that same meeting E. E. Myers presented his plans and agreed to the proposal just passed. Two days later D. W. Gibbs submitted his plans.

At the May 15th meeting, when Commissioner Davis was absent, plans submitted by Wilson and Johnston of St. Paul were rejected because they were not complete enough. Commissioner Post then moved to reject both the

Myers' and Gibbs' plans with Commissioners O'Brien and Potter voting yes, Commissioner Nagle voting no and Commissioner Post not voting. Commissioner O'Brien then moved to reconsider both plans. This motion passed unanimously. The E. E. Myers plans were then rejected with only Commissioner O'Brien voting no. "Further discussion of the plans of D. W. Gibbs and Company was indulged in without result." (WCBC minutes p. 38)

At the May 17th meeting Commissioner O'Brien was absent but the plans of D. W. Gibbs were accepted unanimously "providing that they make such alterations in their plans already submitted to make them conform to the views and the wishes of the commission." (WCBC minutes p.39) The following day D. W. Gibbs accepted "award and conditions" by telegraph.

The plans showed a two winged building topped by a dome with allowances for expansion at the ends of the wings. Only the center section was constructed during 1886-87 with sandstone quarried at Fort Collins, Colorado. The superstructure and dome, built at the same time, were constructed with a lighter grey sandstone quarried in Rawlins, Wyoming. David Gibbs described the style as classic Renaissance in his biography. The *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects* calls it neo-classic, but on closer inspection the building looks very much like the Texas State Capitol in Austin, Texas.

E. E. Myers, on his way to Denver in June, 1886,



Its two new wings completed in 1890, the Capitol was viewed from the southwest.

AMH PHOTO



AMH PHOTO

stopped in Cheyenne and heard rumors that some of his elevations and photographs had been sent to Gibbs in Toledo. (Hitchcock p. 194) In a June 11, 1886, letter to Myers, Commissioner Potter writes, "I assure you that no advantage has been taken of you." (WCBC minutes p. 48)

In spite of what may appear to be a similarity to both the Texas and Colorado capitol buildings, the grandeur and permanence radiated by the Wyoming State Capitol Building repeated itself in the cornerstone laying ceremony. The Wednesday, May 18, 1887, *Cheyenne Democratic Leader* described the day as "a brighter morning never dawned over the 'Magic City of the Plains' . . . flags and streamers were displayed from every public building in the city." An estimated 2,000 people marched in the afternoon parade with double that number watching. The addresses made by the Honorable Judge Joseph M. Carey and Governor Thomas Moonlight were meticulously described, as were the barbecue and lemonade. No mention was made of the style of the building.

In spite of the commission's rejection and then acceptance of plans with the concern for "condition being met," no reference in the minutes was made to the style of the building. Can we believe that the dome was the accepted style for capitol buildings? Many Gilded Age architects thought so. The monumental pattern of the National Capitol with dome, rotunda, temple portico and wings was repeated into the twentieth century in Mississippi in 1901,

Because of crowded conditions, additions were added to the east and west wings in 1917. Since then work on the capitol has been cosmetic rather than structural. This photo was made in the 1930s.

in Montana in 1902, in Rhode Island in 1905, in South Dakota in 1905, in Pennsylvania in 1909, in Arkansas in 1917 and in Idaho in 1919.

There is no record of the Wyoming State Capitol Building Commission's awareness of what Jefferson saw as the architectural symbols of American democracy; the Greek columns of reason and order, the dome of unity or the grand entrance of power. All that the commission stated was that "the main center [of the capitol building] should consist of basement, first and second stories, the wings to recess back a proper distance from the front to constitute good architecture and taste . . ." (WCBC Report p. 10) They wanted the "front to be treated on the French Renaissance Class of architecture." While the architect, Mr. Gibbs, comments on his design accompanied his drawings, his statement dealt only slightly with the design of the building. "The design is in classic Renaissance. Without attempt to elaborate by decoration we have depended upon proportion and substantial construction

rather than display of carving and multiplicity of openings, which so much tend to weaken masses and create impressions of flimsical structural folly under covering of giving large amounts of light and so-called ‘perfect ventilation.’” (WCBC Report p. 15) A greater amount of time was spent discussing the heating and ventilation system than was spent discussing the design of the building.

As late as 1927, an article in *The Architectural Form* warned that the “American people are very largely . . . committed to the firm belief that a state capitol must be designed . . . in Classic fashion . . . surmounted by a dome.” (Freedlander p. 325) This commitment appears to be true in Wyoming from the point of view of both the

commission and the architect who had a desire for a clear link to Washington, D.C. as Wyoming worked toward statehood. While her sister states were building domed state capitols all around her, Wyoming sought the same statement. As a clear reflection of the connection with a democratic past and the promise of a grand future, Wyoming, too, built her symbol.

As Frederic H. Porter, former Wyoming State Preservation Officer of the American Institute of Architects said about the capitol building in a 1972 interview, “There can always be an ever present and visible reminder of past glories . . . which so adequately portrays our times, our customs and our fashions.”



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F E E D I N G

THE DEVELOPMENT OF

THE

The discovery of gold in the American West caused some of the most extensive migrations to occur in the history of our nation. The gold rushes marked the beginning of the active occupancy and settlement of much of the American West. The discovery of gold in California in 1848, of course, touched off the first of these mining rushes; and caused the rapid population of that state. More important, its backwash led to the development of much of the rest of the mountain West. From California, the mining frontier moved eastward and eventually enveloped most of the West.

While geology restricted gold mining almost exclusively to the Trans-Mississippi West, its influence transcended the goldfields and the West itself. The nature of mining prevented its self-sufficiency. As a result, mining acted as a stimulus and support for other economic activities, including transportation, trade, agriculture, lumbering, and manufacturing. Mining supplied the urban centers, markets, and capital necessary for the development and expansion of transportation to and within the mining regions, and resulted in the development of outfitting and supply towns and attendant transportation routes.¹ What factors determined which points became the major supply centers and what changes occurred with time? How did new gold discoveries and the extension of the mining region, new and better forms of transportation, the development of new mining regions, the extension and improvement of supply routes and so forth influence the pattern of supply centers? Did settlements originating as supply points for the goldfields differ in any significant way from the mining towns they supplied? How important was the function of supplying the mines to the origin and development of towns? And, to what degree are the supply towns and their supply routes reflected in the present settlement pattern?

California Supply Points

The development of supply points during the California goldrush illustrated the basic principles that repeat themselves over and over throughout the mining West during the 19th century.² The majority of goods from the Atlantic seaboard, the principal source of supplies for California, reached the state via ocean steamers or sailing vessels.³ Almost from the start, San Francisco assumed the role of leading port and major supply center for the California goldfields.⁴ As early as December 1849, San Francisco received four-fifths of the supplies coming into California.⁵ San Francisco merchants eventually transshipped much of these goods via steam or sail up the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers into the Central Valley. Here numerous points aspired to become secondary supply centers.⁶ Speculation in town sites reached exorbitant proportions. Almost every cross-roads, river-landing, and ferry had its paper metropolis. Eventually of all the aspirants three points, Sacramento, Stockton, and Marysville became the principal interior distributing centers for the mines.⁷ Of these, Sacramento achieved the most importance. Freight deposited on the levee at Sacramento amounted to approximately 96,800 tons per year. Of this, an estimated ten per cent was retained in Sacramento, fifteen per cent was forwarded upstream and seventy five per cent was teamed to the interior.⁸

Marysville initially ranked behind Sacramento and Stockton as a teaming center. The mountain areas that Marysville served proved too rugged for wagon trains. Marysville, consequently, became the largest packing center of the three. Eventually, the construction of wagon roads increased Marysville's importance as a teaming center. Thereafter, LaPorte, Downieville, and Oroville assumed its packing functions.⁹

THE MINES

SUPPLY CENTERS FOR

GOLDFIELDS

by Randall E. Rohe

From Sacramento, Stockton, and Marysville, pack trains and wagons hauled supplies to the larger mining towns serving as transshipment points. The "heads of whoa navigation" or sub-depots were usually the larger and strategically located mining towns like Auburn.¹⁰ From the sub-depots, pack trains carried the supplies to the various mining camps of the surrounding districts. Each of these points held certain advantages that made them the logical distribution point for the nearby mining camps. For example, Auburn, excellently located at the head of several ravines, possessed central location and accessibility. As a result, Auburn, easily supplied from Sacramento, became the distribution point for camps along the North Fork of the American River.¹¹

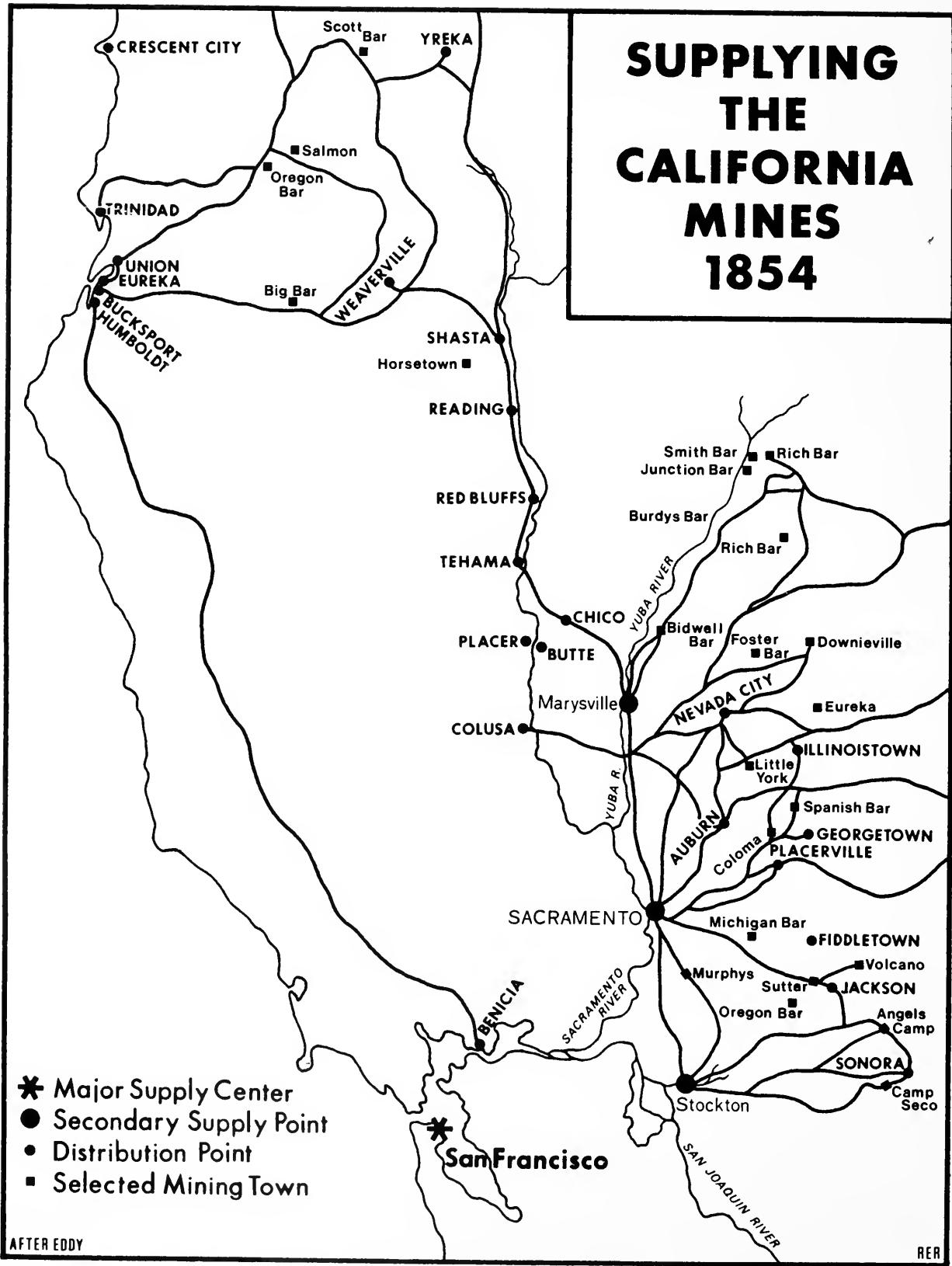
The goldfields of northwestern California initially attracted relatively little attention. At first, pack teams simply brought supplies to Shasta from Sacramento or Marysville.¹² In 1850 as the northwest assumed more importance, towns nearer the goldfields appeared to supply the mines. The goldfields of northwestern California brought about the development of both coastal and upper Sacramento River towns as supply points. The Sacramento Valley towns primarily served the Upper Sacramento and Klamath rivers, and its tributaries like the Shasta, Scott, and upper Trinity. The Humboldt Valley towns principally supplied the lower Trinity, Klamath and Salmon Rivers.¹³ The coastal towns included Trinidad, Humboldt, Eureka, Union, and Klamath.¹⁴ Trinidad, at first, apparently was the most important of these coastal supply points.¹⁵ Shifting population and improved routes, however, caused the importance of Trinidad to decline soon after 1851. By 1853, Union and Crescent City took its place.¹⁶ The upper Sacramento towns included Colusa, Butteville, Butte City, Placer City, and Red Bluffs.¹⁷ Of these river towns, Colusa, which marked the head of navigation, initially proved to be the

principal river supply depot. Light draft steamers began regular runs to Colusa in 1852.¹⁸ From there teams hauled the supplies to Shasta. Shasta, as the terminus of wagon travel, developed into an important reshipment point and packing center for the mines. From Shasta, or one of its sub-depots, Weaverville and Yreka, pack trains hauled the supplies to individual mining settlements.¹⁹ Shasta controlled the trade to the upper Trinity, Scott, and Shasta Valley and competed with Union and Crescent City for the trade of the Salmon and lower Scott Rivers. Shasta, likewise attracted a noticeable portion of the trade of the Yuba and upper Klamath away from Crescent City.²⁰ Until the late 1850s, Shasta constituted the leading packing center of northern California. In 1858 construction of wagon roads deprived Shasta of its usefulness as a packing center, and by 1860 Red Bluffs had assumed Shasta's role as a teaming center.²¹

Removal of snags in the summer of 1852 and high water the following year opened the river for navigation to Red Bluffs. As a result, Red Bluffs succeeded Colusa in 1852 as the teaming terminal for northern California.²² The opening of wagon roads in the late 1850s between Shasta and Weaverville and Yreka caused the replacement of pack trains with wagons.²³

Many of California supply towns broadened their sphere of trade with the discovery of gold in southwestern Oregon. The beginning of mining in Oregon additionally developed new supply points in both that state and California. The towns of Union, Yreka, Crescent City, Shasta in northern California and Umpqua, Scottsburg, Elkton, and Winchester in Oregon, among others, all developed into supply centers for the mines of southwestern Oregon.²⁴ From these towns, pack trails converged at Jacksonville, the major mining town of the region, which acted as a distributing center for the surrounding mining towns.²⁵

SUPPLYING THE CALIFORNIA MINES 1854



AFTER EDDY

AUTHOR'S MAP

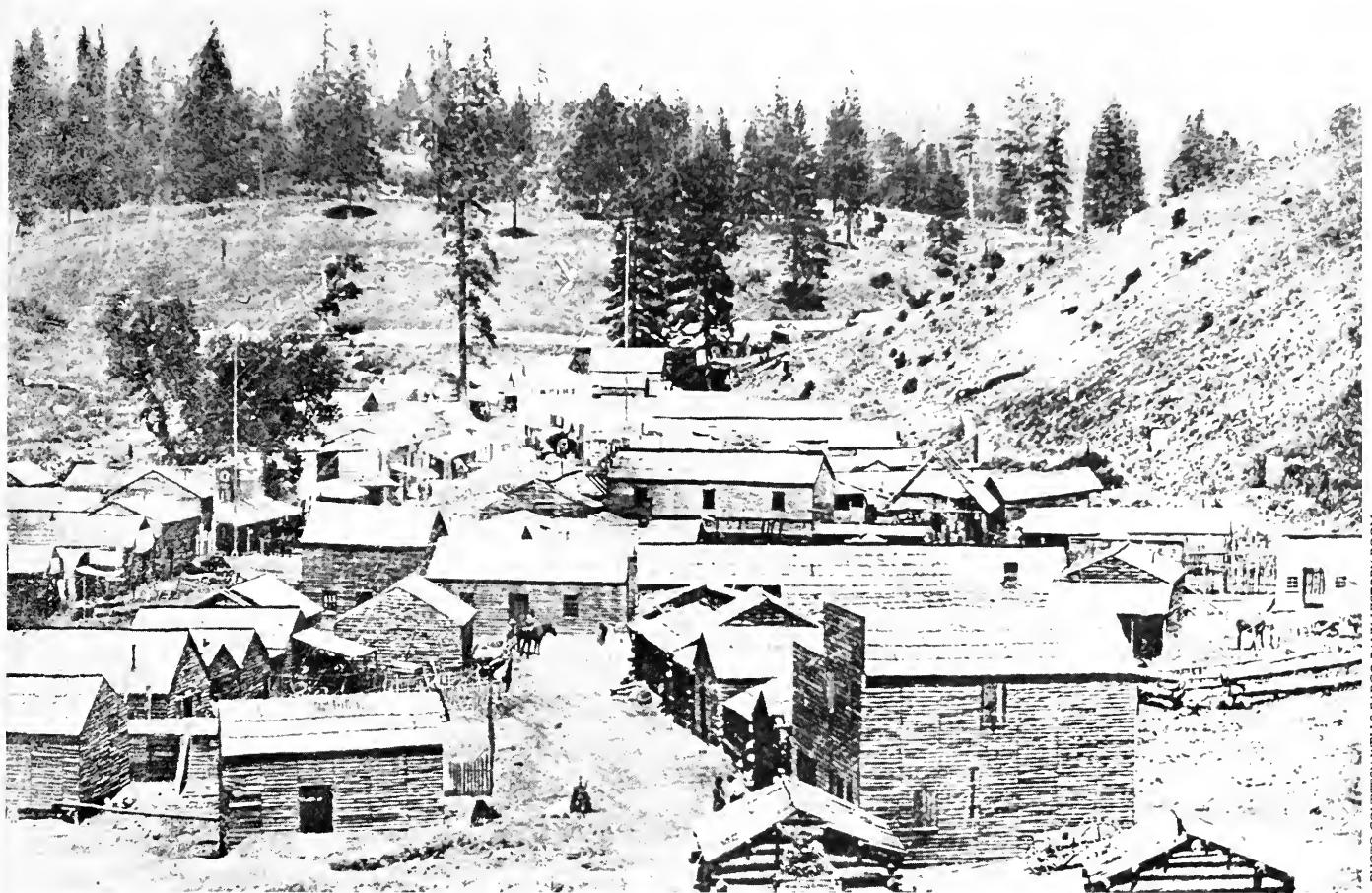


PHOTO COURTESY WELLS FARGO BANK HISTORY ROOM

Placerville, California, 1850

For several years, Scottsburg, located at the head of the tidewater on the Umpqua, did a large business with the mines, competing with Oregon City and Portland, and enjoyed almost a monopoly until the establishment of Crescent City in 1852.²⁶ Crescent City gradually attracted more and more of the mining trade of southwestern Oregon.²⁷ In early May 1855, the *Union* described the "lively" trade of Crescent City stating that "fifty to two hundred miles are dispatched most every day heavily loaded to the mines at Sailor's Diggings, Althouse, Jacksonville."²⁸ The *Union* touted Crescent City as the center of business and trade of the Klamath, Rogue and Illinois Rivers.²⁹ Crescent City not only wholly or partially supplied the Illinois Valley and Rogue River Valley, but the Klamath and Smith River valleys in California as well.³⁰

British Columbia Supply Points

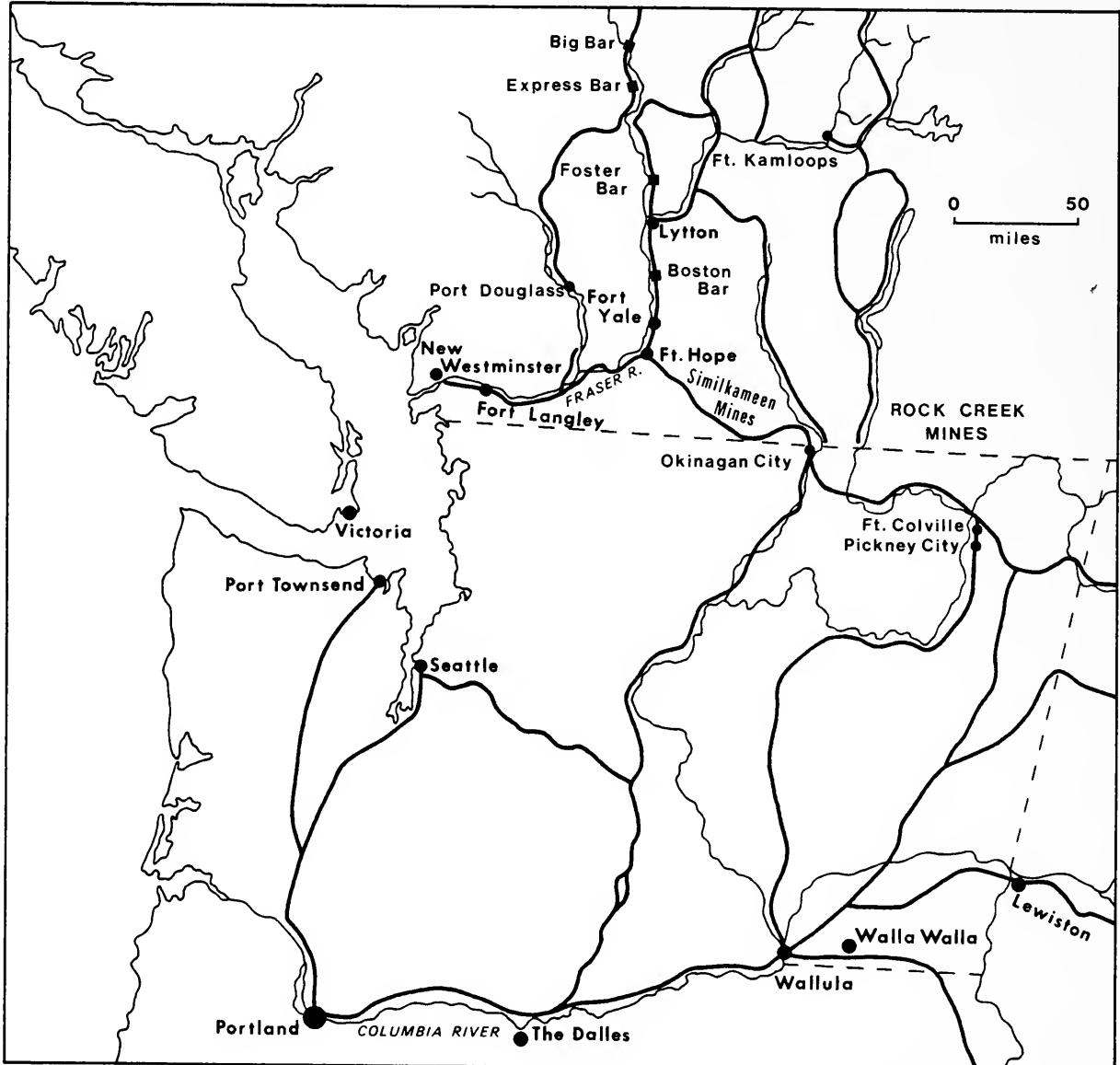
The Fraser River rush meant more trade for existing supply towns. Practically all supplies came from points in the United States. Among these, San Francisco and to a lesser degree Portland gained the most importance. Numerous other points promoted as commercial depots

for the new mines failed for various reasons.³¹ Portland, unable to compete with San Francisco for the Fraser River trade via the ocean route, implemented an interior route via The Dalles. Victoria, New Westminster, Yale, and Hope in British Columbia all served as transshipment points.³² With the development of Cariboo, Victoria gained further prominence. At times of high water, steamers could reach Yale and especially after the completion of the Cariboo Trail, it achieved increasing importance.³³ Hope, the head of navigation on the lower Fraser, became an important distributing center for the lower Fraser, and the mining region adjacent to the American border.³⁴ While Victoria supplied the Fraser and Cariboo Mines, it failed to capture much of the trade of the Kootenay and Upper Columbia. Points within the U.S. such as Lewiston and Walla Walla with more direct access to these goldfields gained practically all their trade.³⁵ Characteristically, Wallula received freight and distributed it through Walla Walla and Lewiston to Pickney City (Colville), which in turn distributed it to the Kootenay and Columbia River mines.³⁶

Colorado Supply Points

The location of Colorado dictated that its supplies come not from western supply centers like San Francisco, but almost exclusively from the Midwest, particularly from Missouri River towns. Salt Lake City, Provo, Taos, and

Supplying The Mines Of British Columbia 1860



AFTER COLTON

RER

AUTHOR'S MAP

Santa Fe at first acted as supply centers for Colorado.³⁷ The vast majority of the supplies for the Colorado goldfields, eventually however, came from centers along the Missouri. The Colorado trade was widely distributed among the Missouri River towns. In fact, relatively few towns on the river did not engage to some degree in the Colorado trade.³⁸ During 1859, Leavenworth, Atchison, St. Joseph, Nebraska City, Omaha, and Council Bluffs probably constituted the leading points of supply for Colorado.³⁹ In subsequent years, these towns continued as the principal supply points for Colorado. Generally, only the order of importance changed from year-to-year.⁴⁰

Supplies reached the Missouri River towns from the East via steamboats, railroads, and wagons. From these

towns, wagons carried the goods to Denver. Denver, located at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, developed into a major transshipment point. At other points along the range, subsidiary transshipment centers arose. From these towns along the mountain front, wagon trains carried supplies to points within the goldfields. The larger mining towns like Breckenridge and Central City served as distributing points for the smaller, outlying camps.⁴¹

Northwest Supply Points

Almost simultaneously with activities in Colorado came important gold discoveries in Idaho and northeastern Oregon. These goldfields naturally looked to Portland for



ARCHIVES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PHOTO

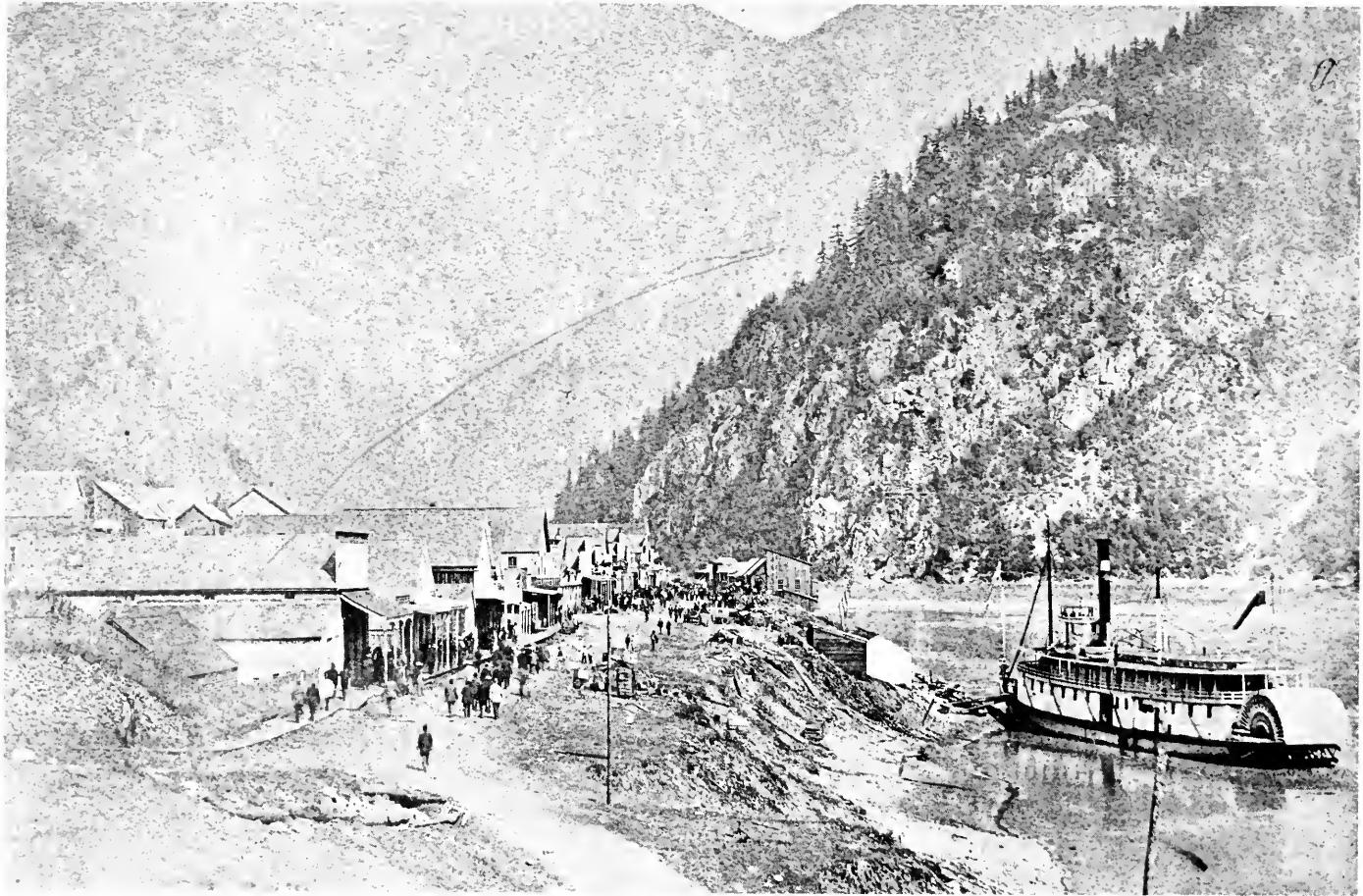
its supplies. Although it remained subordinate to San Francisco as a port, Portland developed into an important distributing point. Ocean-going steamers and sailing vessels either carried goods from San Francisco to Portland, or to a lesser degree directly to Portland. From Portland, river steamers transported the supplies up the Columbia and Snake Rivers into the interior of the Northwest. At various upriver points, a number of towns developed as transshipment points. These included The Dalles, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Wallula on the Columbia and Lewiston on the Snake. The importance of The Dalles stemmed from its position (Dalles-Celilo portage) as the essential transshipment point for all river traffic. The Dalles, important in the Fraser and Colville rushes, benefitted little from the Clearwater rush. Direct steamboat transportation to Lewiston made that town more important. As the head of navigation on the Snake and the nearest point for the Clearwater and Salmon mines, Lewiston experienced a rapid and prosperous development. The Clearwater and Salmon districts, however, declined in productivity fairly quickly and Lewiston, dependent on a hinterland largely restricted to these mines, followed suit.⁴²

Walla Walla, at the junction of the Mullan Road and Oregon Trail, became the principal distributing point for goods to the northern mining districts of Idaho.⁴³ In the Powder River, Boise Basin and Owyhee districts, it com-

The Cariboo Road in 1870. As the photo illustrates, its completion was no small accomplishment.

peted with The Dalles.⁴⁴ Although all Walla Walla merchandise passed through The Dalles, the greater immediate accessibility and, therefore, better service afforded by Walla Walla offset the more direct connection with the source provided by The Dalles.⁴⁵

Umatilla, nearer some of the mining regions east of the Cascades, served as a center for heavy freight for eastern Oregon, southern Idaho and northwestern Nevada.⁴⁶ For a time, too, it was the chief supply point for central Idaho, including the Boise Basin. With time, however, Wallula eclipsed Umatilla as the chief supply point for the Boise Basin.⁴⁷ Wallula acted as a center of freight train transportation to Colville, Columbia River and Kootenay placers as well as the early mining camps along the Pend Oreille. Wallula also received a great deal of freight for distribution through Walla Walla and Lewiston.⁴⁸



ARCHIVES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PHOTO

At times of high water, steamers could travel to the mining towns of the Cariboo goldfields.

San Francisco not only sent supplies via Portland to the Idaho mines, but river steamers carried goods from there up the Sacramento. Here, Chico and Red Bluffs developed as transshipment points. From these towns wagons carried supplies through Nevada and into Idaho.⁴⁹ Some northern Sacramento Valley towns, likewise, supplied the Idaho goldfields via the Fort Hall branch of the California Trail. With the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad, however, the importance of this route declined greatly. In 1866, the railroad reached Colfax, California which developed into a transshipment point. Rail carried the goods as far as Colfax; from there wagons carried the goods into Idaho either following the Humboldt or going directly north and connecting with the Chico-Red Bluffs route. As the Central Pacific extended eastward, the transshipment points moved eastward accordingly.⁵⁰

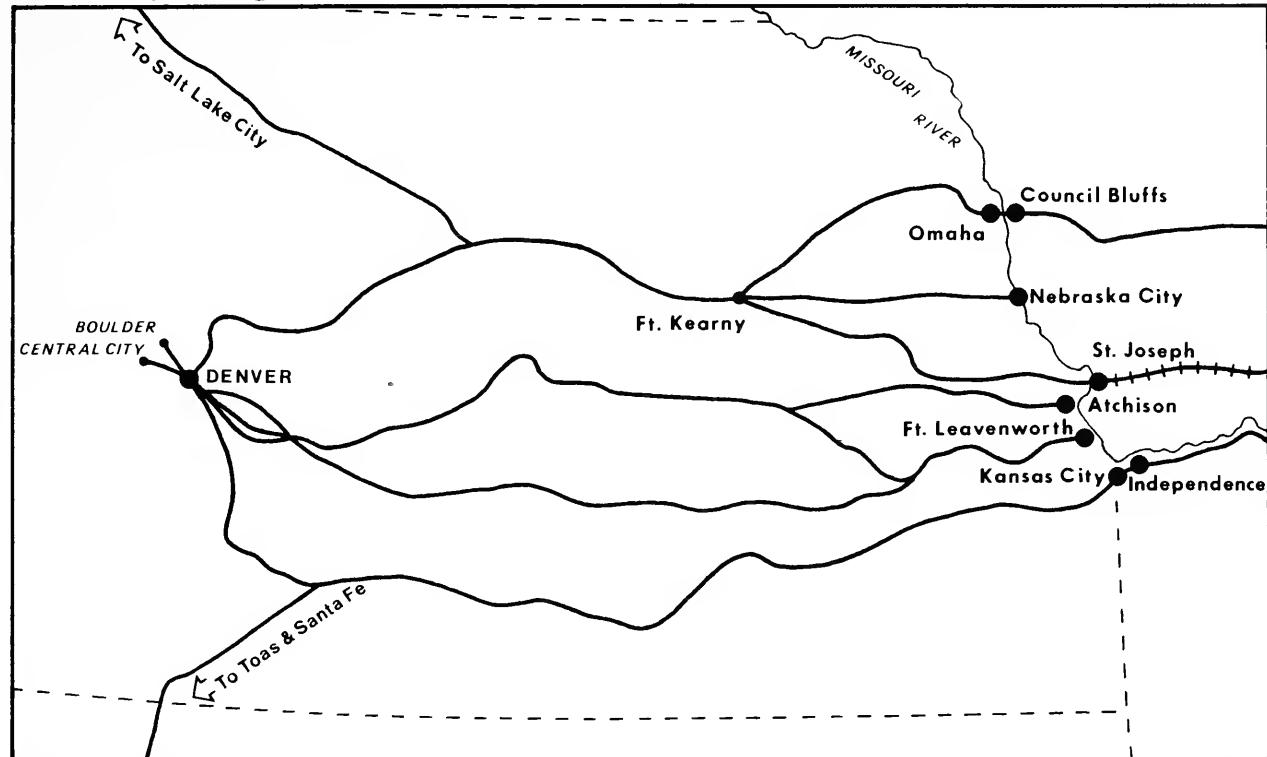
Ruby City formed the Idaho destination for most of the California freighters. From there, mule trains redistributed the goods throughout the Owyhee district. Ruby City, likewise, served as a forwarding point for Boise, an important distributing point for central Idaho. The majority of goods shipped to Boise eventually reached the Boise Basin, often through the mining town of Placerville. Placerville, located on the west side of the Basin, served as a

distributing point for surrounding mining settlements.⁵¹

The Idaho mines, largely the result of location, received the majority of their supplies from the West. Some Missouri River towns, however, participated to a limited degree in the Idaho trade.⁵² Salt Lake City, too, sent some supplies, especially flour, to the Idaho mines.⁵³ The trade of Utah, however, did not amount "to anything of consequence." As the *Statesman* noted, "The Willamette Valley and California must continue to be the source of supplies for the entire mineral region for Idaho west of the Rocky Mountains."⁵⁴

The Columbia River towns, dominant in northern Idaho, faced stiff competition from Sacramento Valley towns in central and southern Idaho. Eventually the Sacramento Valley towns gained the upper hand. In September 1865, the *Avalanche* reported that the merchants of "Placerville, not unlike the balance of merchants in the Boise Basin, intend to ship by the Red Bluff route."⁵⁵ The *Idaho World*, a month later reported that three-fourths of the trains coming into Idaho were from California.⁵⁶ By the spring of 1866, the *Avalanche* claimed that "Owyhee books are opened on the Sacramento and closing on the Columbia."⁵⁷ Nearly simultaneously, the *World* reported that direct transportation from California almost wholly supplied the Owyhee trade and expected that eventually was "also bound to monopolize the carriage to the Boise Basin."⁵⁸

Supplying The Colorado Mines 1860



AUTHOR'S MAP



DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY, WESTERN HISTORY DEPARTMENT PHOTO

Denver, to the east of the Colorado goldfields became the major shipment center for the region. Here freighters line Larimer Street in the 1800s.

Unlike Idaho, Montana proved accessible to both West Coast and Middle West supply centers.⁵⁹ Regardless of rates, each region had certain necessities to offer Montana. A fierce competition for the trade of the Montana mines resulted. Distance was no deterrent to enterprise. The costs were great, but none the less profitable. From 1864 through 1868, San Francisco, Portland, Salt Lake City, St. Louis, and even Chicago competed on a large scale for the mining trade of Montana.⁶⁰ From the West, San Francisco and to a lesser degree Portland served Montana via the Columbia River-Mullan Road.⁶¹ Of the various transshipment centers along the Columbia, Walla Walla, the eastern terminus of steamboat navigation served as the chief distributing point for Montana bound supplies.⁶² From the east, supplies typically reached the Missouri River via wagon trains, railroads, and steamboats. Of the various Missouri River towns, St. Louis initially almost wholly monopolized river trade to Montana. St. Louis continued its importance even after points like Council Bluffs and Sioux City, some 600 and 800 miles upstream, became steamboat centers.⁶³ Ft. Benton, the head of navigation on the Missouri, was the most important eastern transshipment point for Montana goods.⁶⁴

Some supplies from the East reached Montana overland from towns like Atchison, Nebraska City, and Omaha. Of these points, Omaha, largely because it was the eastern terminus of the Union Pacific, gained the greater share of this overland trade to Montana.⁶⁵ A government report stated that in 1867 Omaha "enjoys a lucrative trade with the Territories of Idaho and Montana, receiving its supplies by rail from Chicago, and by river from St. Louis."⁶⁶ Wagon freighting to Montana, however, never became an important element in the commercial life of the Missouri River towns.⁶⁷ The difficult overland route was often plagued by hostile Indians, required crossing and recrossing the Continental Divide, and often took as long as four or five months. The availability of steamer transportation to Ft. Benton afforded a more practical means of participating in the Montana trade. Despite its seasonal navigability, the Missouri provided faster and cheaper transportation, relatively free of Indian harassment.⁶⁸

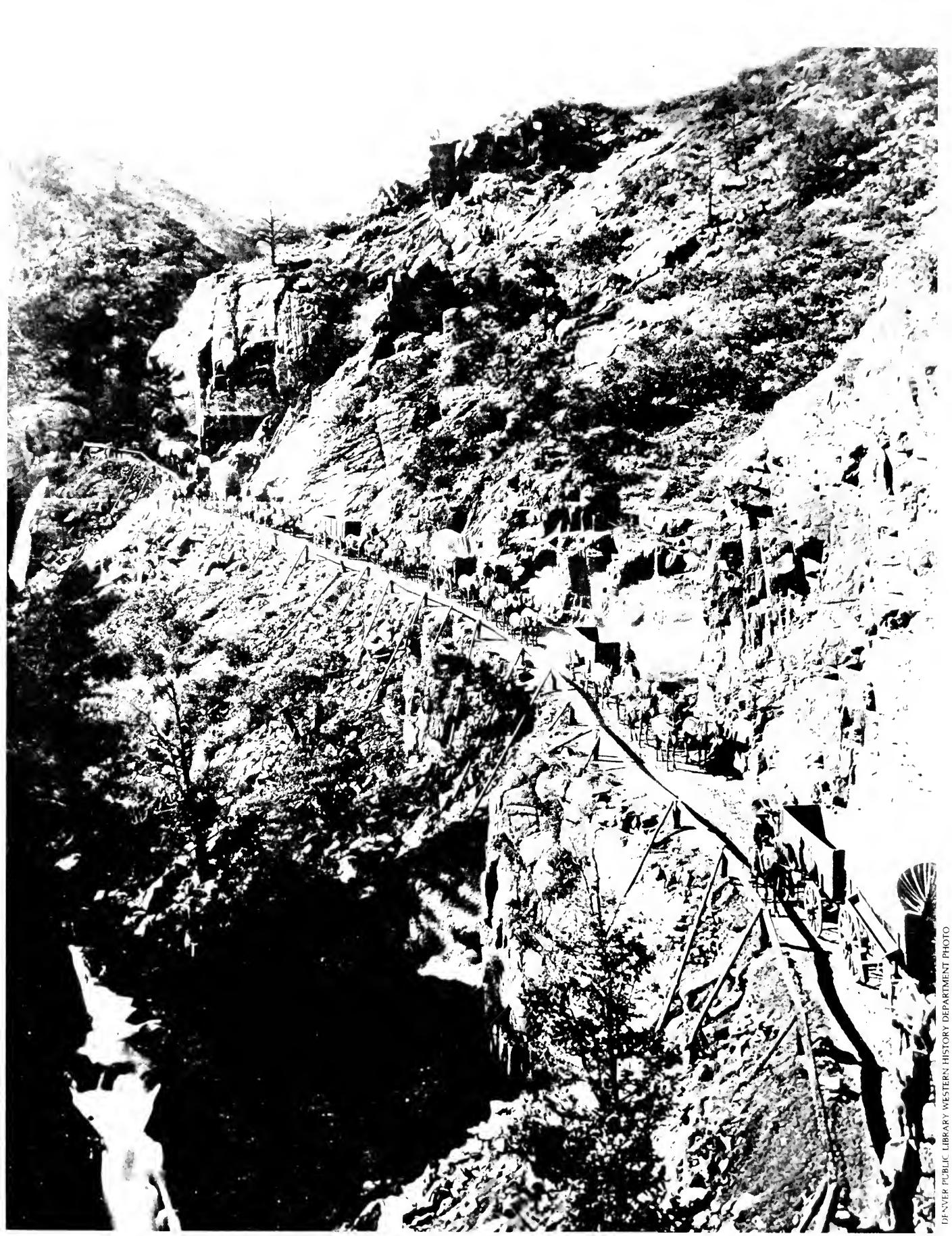
From the West, Los Angeles, especially in 1865 and 1866, sent a considerable amount of goods to Montana as well as Idaho by way of Salt Lake City. A number of geographic, climatic, and geologic factors combined to funnel part of the Montana trade to Los Angeles. The most obvious and perhaps important was the winter virtually eliminated wagon trade from other points.⁶⁹ Goods from other places, likewise, reached Montana through Salt Lake City. Among others, Denver, for instance, at least initially played some role in supplying the Montana mines.⁷⁰

Richardson, in 1865, estimated that three-fifths of the goods brought into Montana mining camps came via the Missouri River, one-fifth by the way of Oregon and Califor-

nia, and one-fifth overland through Kansas and Nebraska.⁷¹ With only eight boats reaching Ft. Benton in 1865, Richardson's estimate seems doubtful. Other contemporary evidence further refutes his claim.⁷² During 1866, however, the number of steamboats reaching Ft. Benton increased immensely and during that year half the freight of Montana entered by way of the Missouri.⁷³ The nature of the Missouri, however, confined trade to the spring and summer months and enabled other points to compete in the Montana trade. Excessive handling of freight at portages and the resultant increased transportation costs largely eliminated any chance of Portland ever monopolizing markets east of the Rockies. Good delivery time and the long shipping season made it possible for Portland, however, to make a bid for some of the Montana trade. Points in California were able to move goods all year long, but were faced with more Indian troubles than other points.⁷⁴

The initial pattern of supply towns for the Montana goldfields underwent numerous changes with the extension of rail lines west. The Missouri River towns, principally St. Louis, originally constituted the most important eastern supply center for Montana. As the network of railroads spread westward, however, points farther inland gained more ready access to the Montana goldfields. Each time the railroad reached a Missouri River town, all steamboat commerce between that point and the towns below practically ceased.⁷⁵ In 1867 and 1868, railroads from Chicago reached Council Bluffs and Sioux City.⁷⁶ Provided with a convenient outlet on the Missouri, Chicago soon captured the bulk of the Montana trade.⁷⁷

The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 further altered the pattern of supply to Montana. After 1870, a marked reduction in the use of the Missouri River in the Montana trade occurred. In 1870, only eight steamers landed cargoes at Ft. Benton.⁷⁸ The completion of the transcontinental railroad likewise practically eliminated effective competition by Pacific Coast supply centers which depended on a water route. In 1869, a contemporary writer observed "that the trade of Montana with the Pacific Coast, which was quite extensive three years ago has now dwindled to insignificant proportions."⁷⁹ The completion of the transcontinental railroad, too, affected the pattern of Western supply points. Its completion, for instance, transferred from Umatilla to Kelton, Utah the role of transfer point for the Boise Basin.⁸⁰ At the same time, Salt Lake City lost its position as the great transshipment point for the Montana mines. The railhead town of Corrine in northern Utah became increasingly important as a transfer point.⁸¹ By the mid-1870s, the *Helena Herald* and even the *Benton Record* admitted that the major portion of the Montana trade filtered northward from Corrine.⁸² In 1874, the Northern Pacific Railroad terminal Bismarck challenged Corrine as the railroad freight transfer point for the Montana mines. In 1873, the Northern Pacific reached Bismarck, established



Freight wagons crossing Ute Pass in Colorado. This photo illustrates the nature of the terrain that supply trains had to traverse in much of the West to provision the mines.

a year earlier as a shipping point for the Montana gold-fields. As a result, Sioux City lost much of its importance and the base of steamboat operations shifted upstream to Yankton and Bismarck.⁸³ From Bismarck, the freight, transferred from railroad to river steamboat, reached Ft. Benton in less time than previously. Missouri River transportation, however, remained restricted to early summer and Corrine continued as the main freight transfer point for Montana. Corrine reached its peak in 1877.⁸⁴ The extension of the Utah Northern Railroad to Blackfoot, Idaho in 1878 brought the demise of Corrine.⁸⁵ In 1887, the Great Northern (St. Paul and Pacific) reached Helena and the Bismarck to Ft. Benton trade dwindled to insignificance.⁸⁶

Within Montana, a number of towns developed into distributing points. Of these, Helena and Missoula gained the most notability. Goods coming from the West usually went through Missoula. Missoula, located on the Mullan Road at the confluence of trails from the Bitter Root, Flathead, and Blackfoot valleys served western Montana, especially the Cedar Creek mines. Missoula, too, forwarded some goods from the East via Ft. Benton or Ogden.⁸⁷ Helena, however, forwarded most goods coming from the East and of the various secondary distributing points, it achieved the greatest importance. Its central location between Ft. Benton and many of the important mining districts largely accounted for the development of Helena as a major distributing point.⁸⁸

Black Hills Supply Points

The development of the Black Hills goldfields once again altered the pattern of supply towns. Supplies for the Black Hills came almost entirely from the East. Cheyenne, Sidney, Bismarck, and Ft. Pierce acted as the major forwarding points. Of these, Cheyenne and Sidney, largely due to their nearness to the goldfields, and their already developed freighting facilities, at least initially dominated the Black Hills trade.⁸⁹ At first, Cheyenne, which received goods via railroad from Omaha, formed the most important.⁹⁰ Both Sidney and Cheyenne, located on the Union Pacific, were within 200 miles of the earliest discoveries in the Hills. The shifting of mining northward, however, put points along the Missouri in a better position to serve the Dakota mines. Cheyenne and Sidney gradually lost trade to Bismarck and Ft. Pierre.⁹¹ Both places, however, remained shipping points for the Hills until the railroad reached Rapid City in the 1880s.⁹²

Ft. Pierre, the closest point to the Hills, concentrated cargoes from Sioux City, Yankton, and Bismarck and sent them westward.⁹³ Goods from Sioux City, and Bismarck originally came from Chicago and points east via rail. Steamboats carried the goods to Ft. Pierre. By carefully planned through-shipments on coordinated schedules and use of the most direct route, freighters using Fort Pierre soon outstripped their competitors. Winter, of course,



The use of pack trains to carry supplies persisted in areas where the terrain was particularly rugged, the area remote and the population sparse. Here a pack train enters Ironton, Colorado.



OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY PHOTO

Business district of the Dalles, Oregon, 1864.

closed river traffic to Ft. Pierre and necessitated the hauling of supplies overland all the way from Yankton. Ostensibly, this restriction did not greatly reduce the importance of Ft. Pierre, which apparently handled two-thirds of the supplies coming into the Hills.⁹⁴ The completion of the Chicago and Northwestern to Pierre ended the use of steamboats and the importance of Yankton and Sioux City declined. Supplies, thereafter reached Ft. Pierre by rail and from there wagons carried them into the Hills.⁹⁵

Within the Hills, two major distributing points developed. Rapid City, located along the mountain front, became the supply depot for the Southern Hills. It acted as the base of supplies for all camps south of Whitewood and Deadwood Gulches.⁹⁶ In the Northern Hills, Deadwood, the largest mining town, acted as the main distribution point.⁹⁷ During 1879, twenty million pounds of freight reached the Black Hills. Deadwood probably received and distributed over two-thirds of it.⁹⁸

Southwest Supply Points

The scattered gold mining areas of the Southwest received their supplies from a number of widely distributed points. Probably the majority of the supplies for the goldfields of Arizona, however, came from California. The Arizona goldfields obtained supplies from San Francisco and to a lesser degree from San Diego and Los Angeles.

Ocean vessels carried the goods to the mouth of the Colorado from where steamboats transported them upriver to such points as Yuma and LaPaz. From these points, wagons hauled the supplies inland to points, such as Prescott, which acted as distributing centers for the nearby mining communities.⁹⁹ Conditions at the mouth of the Colorado often made the transfer of goods to river steamers difficult. In addition, the shallowness of the Colorado made it arduous for even very small steamers to reach Yuma. As a result, some freight, especially from Los Angeles, reached the Arizona mines via an overland route across the Mojave Desert. The Colorado River and Mojave routes continued to be used until completion of rail lines in the latter 1870s. The goldfields of New Mexico, unlike those of Arizona, received the majority of their supplies from the East. Various Missouri River towns, especially Independence and Kansas City, supplied the New Mexican mines.¹⁰⁰

An assessment of the importance of mining trade in the development of towns seems a difficult task at best. In some instances, its importance appears obvious. Numerous towns like Lewiston developed in direct response to the mining trade. The significance to existing towns is more difficult to measure. More than one work points out the importance of the California rush to Salt Lake City. One writer even stated "that the goldrush saved the Salt Lake community from irretrievable economic disaster."¹⁰¹ A

strong statement perhaps, but indicative of the importance of the mining trade. Contemporary appraisals of the importance of the mining trade offer further insight:

To nay [sic] one who remembers how narrow the sphere of our trade was before the discovery of the mines on the tributaries of the Columbia, it must be apparent how very valuable the great commerce that is now carried on in that direction has become. For some years past this trade has been of greater extent and of more importance than any other which Oregon has enjoyed.¹⁰²

The population of many non-mining communities, likewise, reflected the influence of the goldrushes. In March, 1858, for instance, Atchison contained an estimated population of 1,500; within a year, it doubled.¹⁰³

Mining towns, themselves, benefitted from the mining trade. Often the larger, strategically located mining towns developed into distributing centers for the surrounding mining districts. The added benefits derived from this trade meant survival and permanence for many mining settlements. The teaming operations for the California mines, for example roughly fixed the line of permanent settlement in the Sierra Nevada. A line drawn through Quincy, Downieville, Nevada City, Colfax, Placerville, and Jackson, all heads of "whoa navigation," mark the limit of sustained settlement.¹⁰⁴

Transportation Routes

Characteristically, the routes utilized by participants of the various rushes, likewise, served as the main thoroughfares for movement of supplies and goods. Additional routes, however, some fairly important, that mainly carried supplies did develop. A number of supply trails extended from Columbia River points into the various Canadian and Northwestern goldfields. Similar trails into the Northwest goldfields developed from California and Utah. Other strictly supply routes evolved in various parts of the mining West, but their relative importance remained small.¹⁰⁵

The development of routes from Midwestern and Pacific Coast supply centers paralleled the growth of transportation within the goldfields. The significance of the goldrushes to the evolution of transportation probably best displays itself in the establishment of routes within the goldfields. For the most part, the gold discoveries occurred in largely unsettled areas devoid of all but the most primitive transportation routes. The advent of mining, however, caused the rapid development and expansion of transportation.

California Transportation

The best illustration of the rapidity of the development and expansion of transportation facilities in response to mining activities occurred in California. Within ten years, transportation reached a point of development that characteristically required generations to achieve. Rivers served as the first means of reaching the mines. Initially, launches

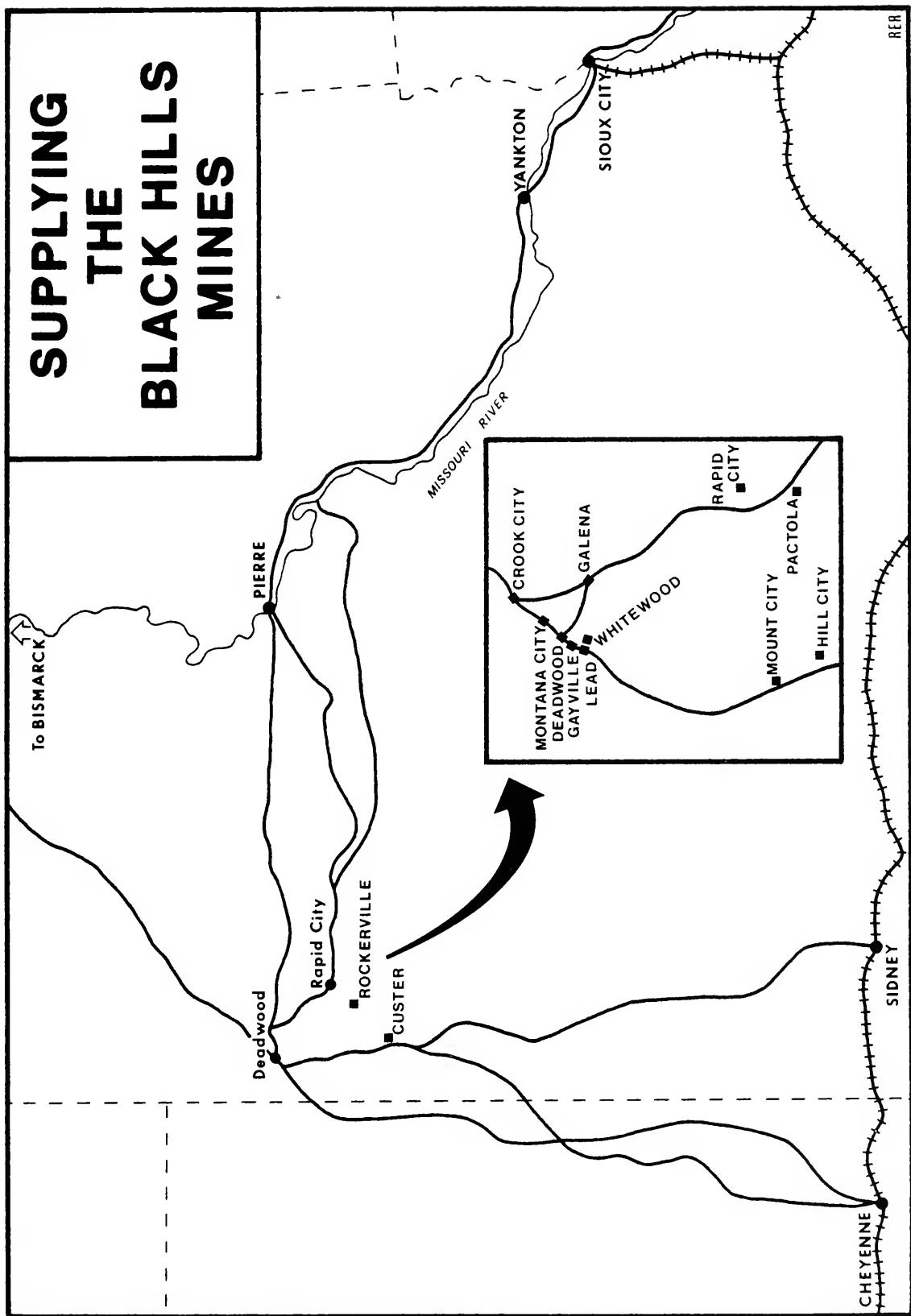
and whaleboats formed the major means of river transportation. In April, 1849, ocean-going vessels ascended the Sacramento.¹⁰⁶ Before mid-summer of 1849, twenty vessels reached the Sacramento landing and between June and September a regular line of schooners ran between San Francisco and Sacramento.¹⁰⁷ Large steamboats arrived in October of 1849.¹⁰⁸ Soon both the Sacramento and San Joaquin became the scene of intense riverboat activity. By the end of 1850, twenty-eight steamboats operated on the Sacramento and Feather Rivers alone.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile, came an almost frantic effort to link the main river ports with the accelerating number of mining communities. As early as September, 1849, a stage line ran between Sacramento and Mormon Island.¹¹⁰ By 1853, a dozen stage lines operated out of Sacramento over sixteen separate routes.¹¹¹ Sacramento represented the most important staging center but other important staging points developed, such as Stockton and Marysville.¹¹² In a short time, the goldfields contained an intricate network of local staging lines.

In little more than a decade, the goldfields and the area adjacent to San Francisco experienced a spectacular advance in transportation. In 1848, only a few poorly marked trails existed. The development of mining, however, provided the urban centers, markets, and means for the improvement and expansion of transportation. The growth of transportation routes in the Southern Mines proved especially rapid. The undulating hills of the Southern Mines, much less broken than those of the Northern Mines, offered few obstructions to road construction. In 1849, roads were already common in the Southern Mines.¹¹³ The main route to Coloma and the goldfields in 1849 and the early 1850s was the Carson Emigrant Road and its numerous branches. By 1852, roads replaced many of the trails and new roads, a few even planked and graveled, appeared. During the 1850s and 1860s, the rapid development of the mines resulted in an imperative need for the construction, improvement and extension of roads. The newly created counties of the goldfields proved unable to meet that need. Consequently, most of the roads, constructed and owned by individuals or turnpike companies, operated for profit. By 1860, many turnpikes and numerous roads traversed northern California.¹¹⁴

Colorado Transportation

The development of transportation in the rest of the mining West differed relatively little from that of California. Often individual enterprise provided the impetus for the construction of branch roads from the main supply routes. The development of routes in Colorado offers one example.¹¹⁵ The earliest routes into the Colorado goldfields consisted of little "more than wagon tracks from which only the largest stones were cast out."¹¹⁶ The rapidly increasing demand for the movement of persons and supplies into the mountains caused the construction of new routes and the improvement of existing ones. In 1859, two

SUPPLYING THE BLACK HILLS MINES



AUTHOR'S MAP

Deadwood, the largest mining town in the northern Black Hills was an important distributing point in that area.



roads from Denver via Golden Gate and Bradford led into the goldfields; another road was under construction and three more were surveyed.¹¹⁷ Shortly, roads led into the goldfields from each of the important mountain front towns.¹¹⁸ For the most part, the roads traversed similar terrain "being cut and carried around the sides of the mountains with a moderate grade, with now and then a steep that is difficult to climb."¹¹⁹ The increasing quantities of goods passing into the goldfields furnished the incentive to individuals and groups to build roads and charge for their use. In 1860, two of the routes into the goldfields operated as toll roads. One, opened in late 1859, extended from Denver to Bergen Park and late in the spring of 1860 reached Tarryall. The second, constructed in 1859 from Ft. St. Vrain to Mt. Vernon reached Tarryall in 1860.¹²⁰ The Territorial Legislature authorized the construction of some eighteen toll roads into the Colorado goldfields between September 1861 and February 1865.¹²¹

With the rapid development of routes adjunct to mining established, what of their long-term importance? Present roads often follow the routes that once carried supplies into the goldfields.¹²² Today, state highways follow closely the major teaming routes that led from Sacramento into the mining region.¹²³ Even some roads of lesser importance that crisscrossed the lower foothills proved forerunners of present-day secondary roads.¹²⁴ The routes within the goldfields, at times, too, provided the basis for present

roads "with only moderate changes caused by railroad and automobile."¹²⁵ Highway 49, the main north-south route of the central Sierra Nevada, though realigned in many sections (particularly at major river crossings) in general follows goldfield routes.¹²⁶ Many present secondary roads follow in varying degree the routes of the California goldfields. Other times, however, the routes of the goldfields passed out of existence after mining ceased.¹²⁷ Development of transportation and local resources altered many of the routes established during the goldrush period, but eliminated only a few. Many present federal, state, and county highways do follow approximately the routes of the goldrush era.¹²⁸

The isolation of the goldfields combined with their lack of self-sufficiency caused numerous towns to become supply centers. Often existing towns, strategically located, benefitted from the mining trade. Other times, the trade developed wholly new settlements. With time, even certain mining towns became important supply points. One thread of continuity existed between almost all these towns, location at break in transport.¹²⁹ Each time circumstances required a change in the mode of transport, a new settlement or an existing one almost invariably

Helena, Montana main street in 1865, filled with freight wagons. Note the variety of building materials used.



MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PHOTO

developed into a transshipment point. The major supply centers typically developed at points which marked the limit for goods conveyed by rail or steam. From the major supply centers, wagons or river steamers characteristically freighted supplies as far as possible and here secondary distributing points developed. From these points, wagons or pack trains usually carried the goods to the larger mining towns. Finally, pack trains transported the supplies to the surrounding, outlying mining camps. The pattern of supply towns, of course, never remained static. Subject to new, changing or improved transportation and new gold discoveries, the supply pattern underwent continual revision.

Pack trains provided the most universal immediate answer for the demand for supplies created by the influx of population occasioned by mining. The high cost of this type of transportation, however, soon induced the construction of roads to reduce freight costs. The extension of wagon roads pushed packing depots farther into the goldfields. Eventually, roads connected most of the main mining settlements with their supply bases. Pack trains, thereafter, operated only where sparse population, rugged

terrain or other factors excluded profitable road construction. With time, railroads played an increasing role in supplying the mining areas. Completion of rail lines across the West, however, did not cause an abrupt decline in wagon freighting until the late 1880s and 1890s, wagons remained the major means of transporting freight to and from the rail depots.

The supply needs of the mining districts meant growth and permanence for many existing towns, fixed the location of numerous settlements, and caused the development of wholly new ones. These supply settlements generally displayed a more stable growth and a greater degree of permanence than the mining communities. Trade, in fact, provided an additional source of support and meant survival for more than one mining town. Since great distance characteristically separated the goldfields from their sources of supply, their development coincided with the rapid rise of supply routes. The supply demands of the mining regions resulted not only in the adoption and modification of existing routes but opened new ones. Many of these routes have survived to the present.



1. The various works of Oscar Osburn Winther reveal much of the history of trade and transportation in the mining West. Besides those referred to in the following section, see Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Transportation Frontier Trans-Mississippi West 1865-1890* (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1964) and "The Persistence of Horse-Drawn Transportation in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1900" in *Probing the American West* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1962). A rather unique form of transportation is discussed by William S. Lewis, "The Camel Pack Trains in the Mining Camps of the West," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XIX (October, 1928), pp. 271-84.
2. A number of works discuss trade and transportation in goldrush California. Of these, Joseph McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1949) is excellent. Other useful studies include: Joan Margo, "The Food Supply Problem of the California Gold Mines, 1848-1858" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1947); Joseph McGowan, "San Francisco-Sacramento Shipping, 1839-1854" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1939); Charles Sargent, "The Evolution of Water Transportation and Ports in the San Francisco Bay Area, California 1848-1880" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1966); and finally, Arethusa South, "California Inland Navigation, 1839-1890" (unpublished M.A. Thesis University of California, Berkeley, 1939).
3. "Statistics-California," *The American Quarterly Register and Magazine*, III (December, 1849), p. 381. Mazatlan, Valparaiso, and Oahu sent supplies, too. See also: Harold Whitman Bradley, "California and the Hawaiian Islands, 1846-1852," *Pacific Historical Review*, XVI (February, 1947), pp. 18-29; Jay Monaghan, *Chile, Peru, and the California Gold Rush of 1849* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).
4. Of some interest is Eric P. Jackson, "The Early Historical Geography of San Francisco," *Journal of Geography*, XXVII (January, 1927), pp. 12-22. A more substantial work is Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). The best work on the early development of San Francisco, however, is Roger W. Lotchin, *San Francisco 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).
5. "Statistics—California . . .," p. 377.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 378; *Alta, California*, July 2, 1849.
7. Bancroft, *History of California Volume VI 1848-1849* . . ., pp. 463-65; *Marysville Herald*, August 5, 1850; *Stockton Argus*, November 27, 1850; *Alta California*, March 19, 1850; for the areas served by these towns, see Edward Vischer, "A Trip to the Mining Regions in the Spring of 1859," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, II (September, 1932), p. 228.
8. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," pp. 46-7.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 225, 431.
10. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," p. 431.
11. Joseph A. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley Volume I* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1961), pp. 96-7.
12. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," p. 252.
13. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley* . . ., p. 98.
14. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," p. 227.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 231, 233; Union was the chief rival of Trinidad for the trade of the Klamath and lower Trinity in 1850-1851. Until 1854, Union was the leading coastal packing center. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," pp. 235, 238.
16. *San Francisco Evening News*, November 22, 1853; McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," pp. 234-35.
17. *Alta California*, June 5, 1850.

18. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," p. 254.

19. *Alta California*, October 7, 1850; May 19, 1852; McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California 1849-1859 . . .," pp. 264-65; *History of the Sacramento Valley* . . ., pp. 88-9. In 1850-51, teams and pack trains carried a considerable amount of goods and supplies from Sacramento or Marysville directly to Shasta.

20. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," p. 252; *Daily Alta California*, September 1, 1855.

21. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley* . . ., p. 88; "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," p. 253.

22. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley* . . ., p. 91.

23. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," p. 165.

24. *Alta California*, February 23, 1852, Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Old Oregon Country, A History of Frontier Trade, Transportation, and Travel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1949), pp. 182-83; Christian August Spreen, "A History of Placer Gold Mining in Oregon, 1850-1870" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1939), p. 90.

25. Jesse Lee Gilmore, "A History of the Rogue River Valley, Pioneer Period, 1850-1862" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1952), pp. 348-49; Arthur L. Throckmorton, *Oregon Argonauts Merchant Adventurers on the Western Frontier* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1961), p. 163.

26. Gilmore, *Ibid.* p. 102; Leslie M. Scott, "The Pioneer Stimulus of Gold" *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, XVIII (September, 1917), p. 150.

27. Throckmorton, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

28. *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 9, 1855.

29. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1855; *Daily Alta California*, September 1, 1855.

30. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," p. 240; "Packing in the Mountains of California," *Hutching's California Magazine*, I (December, 1856), p. 118; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

31. William J. Trimble, "The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire . . .," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin No. 638 History Series*, III (1914), p. 251; "Vancouver's Island and British Columbia," 35th Cong. 2d Sess., *Senate Ex. Doc. no. 29*, serial 984, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1859), p. 18; Matthew Macfie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), p. 66.

32. Throckmorton, *op. cit.*, p. 202; "Vancouver's Island and British Columbia . . .," pp. 17-18; R. Cole Harris and John Warkinton, *Canada Before Confederation: A Study of Historical Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 304; see also M. Macdonald, "History of New Westminster, 1861-1871" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1947).

33. Harris and Warkinton, *Ibid.*, p. 304; Trimble, *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5.

34. Macfie, *Ibid.*, p. 230.

35. Dale L. Pitt, "What Mining Has Done for British Columbia," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (April, 1932), p. 100; F. W. Howay, W. N. Sage, H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1942), p. 625; Oscar Osburn Winther, "Pack Animals for Transportation in the Pacific Northwest," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXIV (July, 1943), p. 136; *Old Oregon Country* . . ., p. 193; Trimble, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 126-27.

36. James W. Watt, "Experiences of a Packer in Washington Territory Mining Camps During the Sixties," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XX (January, 1920), pp. 38-39.

37. *Rocky Mountain News*, May 4, 1859; April 25, 1860; October 3, 1860; October 4, 1860; October 11, 1860; *Desert News*, September 5, 1860; *Nebraska City News*, November 3, 1860; "Commerce of the Prairies . . .," p. 31.

38. *Rocky Mountain News*, January 25, 1860; "Commerce of the Prairies . . .," p. 26. Many Midwestern towns participated in the Colorado trade; the *Rocky Mountain News*, June 21, 1863 alone lists some sixteen points that supplied Denver.

39. "Commerce of the Prairies . . .," p. 24.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 26; *Rocky Mountain News*, May 23, 1860; December 11, 1862; December 25, 1862; *Nebraska City News*, May 11, 1861. In 1859, outfitting proved more important than freighting for Atchison. During 1859 just over 2,000 tons of freight left Atchison, but not a tenth of it for the Colorado mines. The season of 1860, however, brought a great increase in the amount of freight carried to Colorado. Of the over 4,000 tons of freight shipped from Atchison, about two-thirds went to Colorado. That year, Atchison apparently ranked second or third in the Denver trade. By 1865, Atchison assumed the role of major supply point for Colorado. Peter Beckman, "The Overland Trade and Atchison's Beginnings," *Territorial Kansas*, University of Kansas Publication Social Science Studies (1954) pp. 153-54; Walker D. Wyman, "Atchison, A Great Frontier Depot," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XI (August, 1942), pp. 299-300, 304-5, 307.

41. *Rocky Mountain News*, February 11, 1861.

42. Winther, "Pack Animal Transportation . . .," pp. 139-49; *The Old Oregon Country* . . ., p. 197; Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana* . . ., p. 243; Donald W. Meining, *The Great Columbia Plain, 1805-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), pp. 211-12; See also John E. Parsons, "Steamboats in the Idaho Gold Rush," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*, X (January, 1960), pp. 51-61.

43. *Washington Statesman*, December 20, 1861; *Idaho World*, April 29, 1867; Scott, pp. 153-54.

44. August C. Bolino, "The Role of Mining in the Economic Development of the Idaho Territory," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, LIX (June, 1958), p. 150; Meining, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

45. Meining, *op. cit.*, p. 215. The Dalles along with Ellensburg, Washington served the major placers (Peshastin, Cle Elum, and Swauk) of eastern Washington. Walla Walla became a major distributing point for northeastern Washington. Spokane, too, served the Colville mines and eventually replaced Walla Walla in importance. The real development of Spokane as a supply point came with the arrival of the railroad and the growth of lode mining in the Couer D'Alene, Colville, Okanagan and Kootenay. Warren Wilson Tozer, "The History of Gold Mining in the Swauk, Peshastin, and Cle Elum Mining Districts of the Wenatchee Mountains, 1853-1899" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Washington State University, 1965), pp. 29, 38, 40; Otis W. Freeman, "Early Wagon Roads in the Inland Empire," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLV (October, 1954), pp. 126, 128; Kensel, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-97.

46. James W. Watt, "Experiences of a Packer in Washington Territory Mining Camps During the Sixties," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIV (July, 1928), p. 286; *Oregon Statesman*, June 18, 1866.

47. *Walla Walla Statesman*, October 19, 1866.

48. Watt, *Ibid.*, p. 38.

49. Winther, *The Old Oregon Country* . . ., pp. 216-17; *Owyhee Avalanche*, April 7, 1866; November 17, 1866; see also Clarence F. McIntosh, "The Chico and Red Bluffs Route," *Idaho Yesterdays*, (Fall, 1962), pp. 12-19.

50. Winther, *The Old Oregon County* . . ., p. 217.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 218; Merle W. Wells, "Gold Camps and Silver Cities," Idaho Bureau of Mines and Geology, *Bulletin* 22, 1963, p. 8; *Owyhee Avalanche*, September 2, 1865.

52. Beckman, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Wyman, "Atchison, A Frontier Depot . . .," p. 307.

53. Belino, *Ibid.*, p. 119.

54. *Oregon Statesman*, September 28, 1863.

55. *Owyhee Avalanche*, September 2, 1865.

56. Throckmorton, *Ibid.*, p. 262.

57. *Owyhee Avalanche*, April 7, 1866.

58. *Idaho World*, June 9, 1866.

59. F. W. Warner, *Montana Territory History and Business Directory 1879* (Helena: Fisk Brothers Printers and Binders, 1879), p. 208.

60. An excellent work that examines this competition is Alton B. Oviatt, "Pacific Coast Competition for the Gold Camp Trade of Montana," in *The Montana Past—An Anthology*, ed. by Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1969).

61. On the Mullan Road see Helen Winifred Milgrad, "The Mullan Road: The Northern Highway of the Pacific Northwest" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1931); Richard W. Ulrich, "The Mullan Road: Its Story and Importance to the Inland Empire" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1951); Henry L. Tarkington, "Mullan Road," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VII (1916), pp. 301-06; Alexander C. McGregor, "The Economic Impact of the Mullan Road on Walla Walla, 1860-1883," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, LXV (July, 1974), pp. 118-129; and T. C. Elliott, "The Mullan Road: Its Local History and Significance," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIV (July, 1923), pp. 206-09.

62. F. H. Woody, "A Sketch of the Early History of Western Montana," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, II (1896), p. 103; Oviatt, "Pacific Coast Competition for the Gold Camp Trade of Montana . . .," pp. 99-100.

63. Alton B. Oviatt, "Steamboat Traffic on the Upper Missouri River, 1859-1869," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XL (April, 1949), p. 102; Thomas J. Myhra, "The Economic Influence of Steamboats on Early Bismarck," *North Dakota History*, XXVIII (1961), p. 61.

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75. Myhra, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

76. Briggs, *Frontiers of the Northwest* . . ., p. 57; Lass, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

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78. Oviatt, "Steamboat Traffic on the Upper Missouri River, 1859-1869 . . .," p. 96.

79. "A Glimpse of Montana . . .," p. 383.

80. Jesse Harold Jamison, "Corrine: A Study of a Freight Transfer Point in the Montana Trade 1860-1878" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1951), p. 80.

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83. Jamison, *Ibid.*, p. 29; Myhra, *Ibid.*, pp. 61-2.

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87. S. J. Coon, "Influence of the Gold Camps on the Economic Development of Western Montana," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXXVIII (October, 1930), pp. 548, 448-59; Woody, *op. cit.*, p. 103. On Missoula and the mining trade see also: Shirley Jay Coon, "The Economic Development of Missoula, Montana" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1926).

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92. Watson Parker, "The Black Hills Gold Rush, 1874-1879" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1965), pp. 66-7.

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98. G. Thomas Ingham, *Digging Gold Among the Rockies* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros. Publishers, 1888), p. 184.

99. *Weekly Arizona Miner*, February 18, 1871; Sylvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora: The Geography, History, and Resources of the Silver Region of North America* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1864), p. 88; D. K. Allen, "The Colorado River," *Arizona Magazine*, II (August, 1893), p. 63; Robert L. Swor, "The Development of Prescott" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Arizona State University, 1952), p. 59; Francis Hale Leavitt, "Steam Navigation on the Colorado River, the Peak, of the Colorado River Trade," *California Historical Quarterly*, XXII (June, 1943), pp. 154-55, 157. Up to 1856, trade was confined entirely to Fort Yuma; in fact prior to 1864 Yuma was the only river point of importance. The Colorado retained its importance as a supply line for the Arizona mines until the completion of the Southern Pacific to Yuma in 1877 when river trade abruptly ceased. Leavitt, pp. 151, 162; "Steam Navigation on the Colorado River, Experimentation and Development, 1850-1864," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXII (March, 1941), p. 8.

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101. Moore, *Ibid.*, p. 52.

102. *Morning Oregonian*, May 16, 1865; Paul Gilman Merriam, "Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890: A Social and Economic History" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1971) gives a rather brief account of the role of Portland as an outfitting and supply point, based largely on secondary sources, that does not adequately show the importance of mining to the development of Portland.

103. Gower, *Ibid.*, p. 242.

104. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines of California . . .," p. 433.

105. Otis W. Freeman, "Early Wagon Roads in the Inland Empire," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLV (October, 1954), pp. 126, 130; Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 291; George R. Stewart, *The California Trail* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), p. 23; Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-58; Winther, *The Old Oregon Country* . . ., pp. 216-17, 219-20; Jamison, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 31-7; Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, Vol. II (New York: MacMillan Company, 1912), p. 202.

106. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," no pagination.

107. Dorothy Jeanette Dyke, "Transportation in the Sacramento Valley, 1840-1860" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1932).

108. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," no pagination.

109. Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle-Wheel Days in California* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1944), pp. 17-18.

110. Guinn, *Ibid.*, p. 216.

111. Dyke, *Ibid.*, p. 37; Guinn, *Ibid.*, p. 216.

112. See Winther, "The Express and Stagecoach Business in California, 1848-60," (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1934).

113. William Robert Kenney, "History of the Sonora Mining Region of California 1848-1860" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1955), pp. 79-80.

114. Judith Ellen Johnston, "Transportation and Communication in California 1848-1860" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Stanford University, 1929), pp. 108-09, 217.

115. See also Carla Elizabeth Neuhaus, "Transportation to Colorado 1858-1869" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Colorado, 1928); Clifford C. Hill, "Wagon Roads in Colorado, 1858-1876" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Colorado, 1950).

116. Arthur Ridgeway, "The Mission of Colorado Toll Roads," *Colorado Magazine*, IX (September, 1932), p. 162.

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118. Wilbur F. Stone, *History of Colorado Volume I* (Chicago: Clarke Publishing, 1918), pp. 574-76.

119. C. M. Clark, *A Trip to Pike's Peak and Notes by the Way* (Chicago: S. P. Round, 1861, reprinted San Jose, Calif.: Talisman Press, 1958), p. 76.

120. Ridgeway, *Ibid.*, pp. 163-64.

121. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-67.

122. Pitt, *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100; Jamison, *Ibid.*, p. 21, 34-37, 52; McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," pp. 215, 235, 237, 244-245, 363, 375, 377, 379-80, 386, 390, 395, 399, 401, 411, 414, 416.

123. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," no pagination.

124. Richard Malcolm MacKinnon, "The Historical Geography of Settlement in the Foothills of Tuolumne County, California" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1967), p. 107.

125. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1850 . . .," p. 432.

126. Frank Kimball Scott, "Visible Relics of Past Land Use in the Mother Lode Area, California" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970), p. 274.

127. Mildred Brooks Hoover, Hero Eugene Rensch, Ethel Grace Rensch, *Historic Spots in California* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 75.

128. McGowan, "Freighting to the Mines in California, 1849-1859 . . .," pp. 425, 433.

129. The classic discussion of this idea is Charles Horton Cooley, "A Theory of Transportation," *Publication of the American Economic Association*, IX (May, 1984), pp. 1-148.

BOOK REVIEWS

Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978. By Loretta Fowler (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982) Index, Bibl. 299 pages. \$26.50.

Arapahoe Politics is certainly one of the finest ethnohistorical works to be completed to date. Loretta Fowler does not fall prey to the usual inadequacies found in a study of this type. She provides the reader with a detailed time line and intensively examines individual Native American responses to build her case that Arapahoe political history is extraordinarily different from Plains tribal politics in general.

Ms. Fowler combines anthropological field work and ethnohistorical research to provide the reader with a cultural as well as historical framework for understanding the evolution of Arapahoe politics. Unlike other tribes, she points out that the Arapahoe have readily accepted the electoral process and that their elected business council is fully accepted as the legitimate tribal government. The Arapahoe's success in incorporating new criteria for the establishment of authority is a primary concern of the text.

Ms. Fowler begins her study with the 1851 Fort Laramie Council meetings and delineates, through time, the structural changes which occurred in Arapahoe society. These changes, she notes, were always handled within the traditional context of tribal elders. The elders, contrary to popular opinion, were not responsible for a lack of cultural adaptation. Instead, through alterations in religious rituals, the elders played a critical role in directing the processes of culture change.

Arapahoe Politics is not founded in an assimilationist paradigm of acculturation. The book notes and analyzes the enduring consistency of Arapahoe values and examines the innovative strategies utilized by the tribe to retain a continuity with their past while legitimizing new modes of secular authority.

Ms. Fowler's contention that adaptation to contact with whites may have "varied according to the presence or absence of an age-grade tradition" (p. 299) remains to be proven. However, her book does establish that this system played a central role in the directing of cultural changes within Arapahoe society. The subject is worthy of further study.

One of the few drawbacks to this study is the index. For instance, if the reader is interested in the critical role of disease in the development of Arapahoe politics, the index is of little help. There are no entries under "disease," "smallpox," "cholera," or "measles," yet the text does address this issue, principally on pages 35 and 44.

Despite this minor flaw, *Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978* is a thorough study; Loretta Fowler has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of Arapahoe acculturation.

KATHLEEN O'NEAL GEAR
Ms. Gear is with the Casper office of the Bureau of Land Management.

Our Mark Twain, The Making of His Public Personality. By Louis J. Budd. (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1983) Bibl. Index. 266 pp. \$21.95.

"We passed Fort Laramie in the night, and on the seventh morning out we found ourselves in the Black Hills with Laramie Peak at our elbow (apparently) looming vast and solitary—a deep, dark, rich indigo blue in hue, so portentiously did the old colosus frown under his beetling brows of stormcloud." Mark Twain, *Roughing It*.

Samuel G. Clemens passed this way by stagecoach heading for the Nevada goldfields, and fame, as Mark Twain.

As an author, critic, humanist, orator, political satirist, his books became classics. A doctorate was conferred on him by Oxford and a crater on Mercury bears his name yet he claimed only to be a journalist.

Writing under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, author Louis J. Budd shares the secrets of Twain's phenomenal rise as a public personality. The story is gleaned from the great collections of the Mark Twain papers, in this country and abroad.

Quoting Carl Van Doren, "He created many characters, but none of them was greater than himself." Twain became one of the earliest public relations men on his own behalf and later for personal viewpoints, national policy and worthy causes.

Author Budd noted that his birth coincided with the appearance of the "Penny Press." At a time when multitudes of immigrants were coming to our shores, the penny press was their mentor about American life. To these new residents, Twain represented the rags to riches potential of America.

Before the electronic media, the lecture circuit provided culture to the millions. Mark Twain exploited it, developing a deadpan delivery of his humor and satire. He made irreverence his trademark and enraged churchmen with his criticism of missionaries softening up the natives to make easier the plunder. He became a statesman without salary, promoting human rights, attacking imperialism and colonialism. Yet he was honored by kings, a pope and an emperor as the typical American character. Ordinary folks claimed him as "our Mark Twain."

The success of *Innocents Abroad* made him rich but when his publishing business failed he kept his promise to pay off his debts. His fellow journalists praised him with, "he was one of the boys." He declared that journalism was the best school to learn about human nature. He had been one of the earliest reporters to be sent out to actually find the news. Said the Philadelphia Press, "he was a product of the American newspaper."

Probably pound for pound more has been written in adulation, criticism and Freudian analysis of Mark Twain than the millions of words he, himself, produced. The author details and sums up the Twain mystique that evokes this response to Twain the man, the showman, the publicist.

The book is generously illustrated with the best of the cartoons about Mark Twain throughout his career. These cartoons contributed greatly to the making of Twain's public personality. Near the end of his life, one shows Twain solving the housing shortage by moving into the Hall of Fame.

Our Mark Twain made this reviewer start all over, re-reading Mark Twain, beginning with *Roughing It*.

GLADYS JONES

The reviewer is the author of Cheyenne, Cheyenne Our Blue Collar Heritage.

The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney. By L. G. Moses. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984.) Index. Bib. Illus. 293 pp. \$24.95.

James Mooney—"The Indian Man"—(1861-1921) was among that first generation of self-trained Smithsonian ethnologists who examined, recorded and analyzed Native American cultures under the direction of John Wesley Powell. The distinctive title, although never a lasting cognomen, was the fancy, of a journalist who interviewed Mooney at the 1893 Columbian Exposition to describe the ethnologist's vast knowledge of Cherokee, Kiowa and Cheyenne cultures. This book resurrects the long forgotten title as well as the compelling life of a fascinating man who lived among Indians and came to advocate, even to promote, the right of Native Americans to practice the Ghost Dance religion and the ceremonial use of peyote.

L. G. Moses, who teaches history at Northern Arizona University, argues in this first published biography of James Mooney that scholars largely have ignored not only the ethnologist's distinctive contributions to Indian history but also his active participation in the development of American anthropology. He does not claim that Mooney significantly shaped the science of mankind to the extent that Franz Boas or Frederick Ward Putnam did but insists he was an important figure, though not extraordinary, for during Mooney's thirty-six year career with the Bureau of American Ethnology, he wrote less than his colleagues, largely accepted the goal of Indian assimilation, and had relatively little influence on the institutions of anthropology. Nevertheless, Moses maintains that Mooney's classic studies of Indian societies, the Ghost Dance and peyote religions, and constant advice against completely wrenching Indians from their cultures are reasons enough for examining "The Indian Man's" life.

Born in Indiana to poor Irish-immigrant parents, Mooney had a childhood fascination with Indians that developed into a serious study. After a public school education and a brief stint as a teacher and printer, he landed a position with the Bureau of Ethnology in 1885. Conducting his initial field work among the Eastern Cherokees, he recorded and translated hundreds of sacred tribal myths, but his truly ground-breaking research was done among the Plains tribes. There he gathered extensive data on the Ghost Dance and was the first ethnologist to interview Wovoka, the spiritual leader of the religion.

Early on, he also compiled a classic tribal history of the Kiowas utilizing heraldry symbols as revealed on shields, tipis, and tribal calendars as well as non-Indian sources, thus adding a new dimension to writing Indian history. By 1900 Mooney was recognized as an eminent self-trained ethnologist. But he, like so many scientists who achieve prominence early in life, could never match the genius of his original works.

Mooney's later years were scarred with bitter controversy, largely because of changes at the Bureau, in the science of anthropology and in Mooney himself. New directors at the Smithsonian and the Bureau shifted their emphasis to more practical applications, specifically how ethnology might assist in "civilizing" Indians. Mooney accepted the change but violently protested government officials and Indian reformers intent on destroying every aspect of Native American life.

Despite believing that Indians ought to be assimilated, he saw virtue in many aspects of Indian culture. He spoke out so vigorously against the allotment program, Indian boarding schools and restrictions placed on Indian ceremonies, specifically the Ghost Dance and peyote religions, that government officials banned him from doing field research on reservations. Further, he was caught in a transition. Even though his work exemplified the new anthropological theory—that mankind represented diversity rather than single historical unity—anthropology was becoming more the realm of the university-trained than the self-trained. Mooney had come to empathize with the plight of Indians fearing that undisclosed aspects of Native cultures would forever be lost for generations to appreciate. Moses poignantly concludes, "In the end, like the Indians he studied, he became something of an exile in his own land." (p. 219)

Moses has done a meticulous job of researching and piecing together Mooney's life, especially given that "The Indian Man" left behind virtually nothing that reveals his personal life. Yet the biography, a revision of Moses' Ph.D. dissertation, has several disturbing points. No doubt Mooney made distinctive and lasting contributions, but the extent to which he actively participated in the development of anthropology remains questionable. Mooney, in a sense, was no more than a transitional figure in an internally changing science. Perhaps more distressing, Moses never grapples with how Mooney, clearly an intelligent man, reconciled his assimilation attitudes with criticisms of government policies. Unfortunately, disjointed prose, feeble editing and poorly reproduced photographs add to the deficiencies.

Criticisms notwithstanding, this is a worthy contribution to Indian history and the history of anthropology; anyone interested in either will want to consult it.

GERALD C. MORTON

The reviewer has done graduate work at the University of Wyoming Department of History.

Wyoming in Profile. By Jean Mead. (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1982.) Illus. Bib. 323 pp. \$16.95, Cloth. \$7.95, Paper.

Writing about real people is by no means an easy task. This is especially true when choosing from literally thousands of people who have established themselves within the confines of a particular state.

Wyoming in Profile is a tribute to some of Wyoming's better-known and some not-so-known citizenry. Mead selected an excellent cross-sampling of these unique individuals who people the "Equality State." Through incessant interviewing of these colorful characters the writer furnishes valuable insight to what Wyoming is. From these selected persons, the history of Wyoming can be felt. Wyoming is more than a state of physical presences. It is a state of mind.

From cowboys to politicians, from artists and poets to radio show hosts and educators *Wyoming in Profile* allows the reader to discover the rich variety of the state.

A common bond unites these unique men and women of Wyoming. Mead shows that they are all just plain down-to-earth people. Yet, *Wyoming in Profile* shows how each contributes in his or her own way to the overall character of Wyoming.

Few men or women are more knowledgeable in the history of Wyoming than T.A. "Al" Larson. For nearly four decades, Larson has instilled Wyoming's colorful past in thousands of students attending the University of Wyoming. Like others profiled in Mead's book, Larson grew up believing in the adage of "working hard and getting ahead."

Lucille Wright is one of the few people around to have been close friends with aviatrix Amelia Earhart. According to Lucille, "she was warm and friendly, perfectly charming. One of the most charming girls you'd ever want to meet and dedicated to aviation." The town of Cody, Wyoming is the home of Lucille Wright, who has also dedicated her life to aviation. She has worked many long years improving the quality and standards of this field.

Mead profiles Governor Ed Herschler as that Wyoming-type who has roots deeply entrenched in the state. He relates, "people know me for what I am." Herschler thoroughly enjoys his position of governor. Even though he states, "You get awfully discouraged sometimes when you feel that you've done something well and would like the public to say 'Governor, you did a fine job.' They're not going to say that, but you do get some inner satisfaction. There's a lot of things you can take some pride in, particularly helping individuals with problems. Sometimes you find an agency head or some department of state that's able to help them and that makes you feel good. That's the best part of being governor."

In all, 48 men and women are discussed for what they truly are in *Wyoming in Profile*. They are shown as hard working, diligent and above all, interested in the overall well-being of Wyoming. Mead has chosen a very fine sampling of these people and profiles them in a most enjoyable book.

ROBERT GRACE

Grace is a free lance researcher whose current interests include the oil field ghost town of Lavoye.

Historians and the American West. Edited by Michael P. Malone. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.) Index. 449 pp. \$24.95.

This book-length assessment of historical writing surveys the entire Western history field. Eighteen Western historians have contributed to this annotated guide that is meant "to provide a better understanding of what several generations of Western historians have accomplished and failed to accomplish, and of the legacy and tasks they have left to this and to future generations." In short, they have appraised the state of the art.

Each chapter in the book deals with a specific topic of Western history. American Indians, Fur Trade and Exploration, Mining, Manifest Destiny, Women in the West, Transportation and Western Spanish Borderlands are among the variety of chapter headings. Each section gives valuable bibliographical listings and evaluates each as to its importance in contributing to Western history.

In the foreword, Rodman W. Paul tells us that this book gives us time to "pause and take stock." He goes on to say that this volume should "stimulate a lot of overdue soul searching." Editor Malone feels that Western historians have been "noticeably slow in taking up the newer methodologies that became popular during the 1970s."

Historians of the American West not only looks critically at what has been accomplished in the field of Western history, but also tells the reader what is sadly lacking. It is an invaluable aid to the historian whether he or she be writing a paper, thesis, dissertation or just reading history for its own sake.

Frederick Jackson Turner is heavily criticized in this volume for failing to deal with several aspects of Western history. Bradford Luckingham brings to light his failure to deal with western urban history and Sandra Myres criticizes Turner's masculine West. Kenneth Owens notes the lack of attention to frontier politics while Clark Spence writes of Turner's neglect of mining history. However, the book does not fail to give credit where credit is due. That Turner's work and contributions to Western history is invaluable, has never been disputed. The Turner tradition lives on though sometimes modified, refined and looked at in a more credible context. Ray Allen Billington certainly stands at the top of this list of neo-Turnerians.

Editor Malone states that one sadly neglected area of Western history is that of the twentieth-century west. He believes that most historians feel more comfortable with the pre-1900s. In agreement with Malone, Rodman Paul fears that "in our own century western history blends into national history to such a degree as to lose its identity. But if specialists in the history of the West do not take on the job, then national historians will, and developments in the West will be reduced to local illustrations of national trends."

Historians of the American West will be a tremendous

asset to the "overworked" reader in that it tells what is most important and what is secondary among the many thousands of offerings available to those interested in Western history. As Michael Malone states in his introduction, the "aim here is to decide what has been done, how well it has been done, and what needs to be done." This long over-due volume will prove its worth many times over.

THELMA CROWN

The reviewer is Research and Oral History Supervisor for the Archives, Museums & Historical Department.

The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians.

By Paul Francis Prucha. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.) Appendix. Bib. Maps. 1208 pp. in 2 volumes. Cloth, \$60.00.

Father Paul Francis Prucha is the acknowledged expert on Indian-United States relations. His latest work, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* is an attempt to bring together in one work the entire history of the government's relations with the Indians. Prucha's two-volume opus is every bit as detailed as it is comprehensive. Covering the period from the colonial era to 1980, Prucha's work is a narrative that lacks a central theme but nevertheless presents the history of America's relations with the Indians in an entertaining manner.

The Great Father is especially useful in following the twisted course of American legislation and court decisions regarding Native Americans. In discussing court cases, the author might have provided more material on their backgrounds and the importance of these judicial decisions, but these are frequently obscure in themselves and, in many cases, further discussion would do little to clarify the issues involved.

A major flaw in this work is its orientation toward the actions of Indian agents, reformers, and officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. His analysis of policy and policy-makers is very astute and he presents an excellent picture of government at work. However, the Indians themselves, who were the focal point of the government's Indian policy, are figures of lesser importance to the author. In light of the vast amount of recent research on the Indians' participation in policy-formulation, this is an unfortunate shortcoming.

The author's bibliographic essay is very useful, as are the many maps. The immensity of Prucha's work is one of the work's major flaws, since *The Great Father* is too lengthy for anyone but scholars to find useful and too expensive for any buyers but libraries. Nevertheless, *The Great Father* will remain an important reference source for a long time.

THOMAS F. SCHILZ

Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862. By Gary C. Anderson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.) Notes, Bib., Index. 280 pp. Cloth, \$25.00.

Gary C. Anderson's work is an attempt to explain the 1862 Sioux uprising in Minnesota in light of the world view of the Indians themselves. Anderson's thesis is that the Indians embraced Europeans as kinsmen in an effort to fit these strangers into their social universe. As kinsmen, these whites were expected to provide gifts to their Indian relatives and protect the tribal interest like any other member of society. Likewise, the Dakotas entered into a father-child relationship with Euro-American governments with the understanding that the white men who signed treaties with them would support their Indian "children" in the same way that a father protected his children in Dakota society.

Anderson's thesis is not anything new. It can be applied, in differing degrees, to most Indian tribes' dealings with whites. The success of Anderson's research is that he portrays in a clear manner the ways in which the Dakotas bound themselves to this relationship and, when they concluded that they had been betrayed, struck out at the whites who had seemingly misled them.

Anderson describes the social system of the Sioux, placing special emphasis on their concept of kinship. He notes that white men who were adopted by the tribe and the Europeanized offspring of mixed marriages challenged the tribe's traditional leaders by demanding that land and sovereignty be surrendered for money. The uprising of 1862 was the result of the conflict within Dakota society between those who counseled assimilation and those who defended traditional values and expected American officials to live up to their social obligations that the Sioux had created for them. American authorities, while accepting the terminology of the father-child relationship, never comprehended its implications.

Kinsmen of Another Kind is well-written, contains an excellent bibliography, and is lavishly footnoted. It is worth serious consideration by both scholars and non-specialists in Frontier and American Indian History.

THOMAS F. SCHILZ

The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women. By Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine. (New York: University Press of America, 1983.) References. 286 pp. Cloth, \$25.50.

The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women is a collection of articles on the role of females in Plains Indian society. Like most anthologies, the quality of scholarship and literary craftsmanship is uneven. All of the articles suffer from a lack of space that prohibits ample development of the authors' topics.

The best article in this anthology is Katherine Weist's study of European biases in describing Indian sex roles, neatly titled "Beasts of Burden and Menial Slaves: Nineteenth Century Observations of Northern Plains Indian Women." Weist points out that white observers invariably described Indian women as chattel who were bought and sold and whose lives were unrelieved drudgery highlighted by ill-treatment at the hands of their tribes' men. These observers, whose cultural biases demanded that women be pure, protected creatures, were horrified by the lack of chivalry on the frontier.

Weist's research indicates that these observers misunderstood the nature of gift exchange in marriage and were unaware that Native American women possessed greater authority in their societies than white women could claim.

By comparison, Beatrice Medicine's article, "Warrior Women—Sex Role Alternatives for Plains Indian Women," is an ethnological analysis of the place of women in sex roles traditionally reserved for men. The author fails to include enough historical information to lift her article above the theoretical level, and is guilty of factual errors in claiming that no warrior women existed among the Teton Sioux despite first-hand accounts of such women.

Between these two extremes the other articles present a variety of topics with varying degrees of proficiency. All of the authors provide a useful bibliography for their works. While *The Hidden Half* will be useful to scholars in both Native American and Women's Studies, it will be of limited interest to the general public.

JODYE DICKSON SCHILZ and THOMAS F. SCHILZ
Jodye Schilz is an instructor at Tarrant County Junior College, and her husband Thomas F. Schilz is a professor at Texas Christian University.

So Far From Spring, by Peggy Simson Curry, (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co. 1983) 344 pp. Cloth \$16.95. Paper \$9.95.

So Far From Spring was originally published in 1956 by the Viking Press. This is just one of four novels that Mrs. Curry has written and she considers it her best work. In addition to her novels, she has also written several short stories and poems.

The story is set in North Park along the Colorado-Wyoming border in the late 1890s. The main character is Kelsey Cameron, a young poor Scotsman who has "come west" to seek his fame and fortune in the new world. A man torn between his love for Scotland, his Scottish sweetheart Prim Munro and his ambition to be his own man, Cameron is responsible for himself in a country alien in every way.

He arrives in North Park and immediately starts out for what he thinks is his cousin Tommy Cameron's ranch. According to letters received in Scotland, Tommy has done very well for himself in the area and Kelsey assumes that North Park is where his fortune awaits too.

The starkness and desolation of the area does not help Kelsey's nervousness, and with his cousin not actually anticipating his arrival, he wonders about his reception. He reaches a ranch and although he is made welcome, Tommy had exaggerated somewhat. He is not the independent rancher that he said he was, but just a ranch manager for the real owner, Monte Maguire. All things are not quite right on the western front.

Monte is not an ordinary ranch owner. She is a rough, tough hard talking woman, who it is rumored, had once resided in a cat house. But, with all her so-called faults, she is a fair boss and respected by her ranch hands.

Kelsey is hired by Monte and he starts his new lifestyle with excitement and enthusiasm. The work is hard, and at times painstakingly slow, but he perseveres. He works unfalteringly and even during the harsh winters he slowly makes gains, even when the extreme coldness literally makes him sick to his stomach.

Kelsey's thoughts remain with Prim, although he is hurt by her reluctance to join him in North Park. The young woman is pregnant, a fact he does not know until their daughter Heather is born.

Kelsey saves his money and after several years, has enough to return to Scotland, marry Prim and bring back both a wife and daughter to his adopted homeland.

However, during the absence of Prim, things change somewhat between Kelsey and Monte, but Kelsey basically being an honorable man, stays true to his first love.

Life is even harder for all of them, particularly for Prim who has a very difficult time adjusting to the environment, the people and the culture shock of coming from a settled life in Scotland to the harsh unrelentless life of a ranch hand's wife. The years go by, and while Kelsey and Heather enjoy their adopted home, Prim still fights to maintain a lifestyle that is unsuitable for North Park. She makes herself and others miserable in the attempt.

Life becomes even more difficult when Prim becomes pregnant again, and has a son Jediah. Jediah is sickly from birth and never really gains strength. He lives only a short few years. Again, Prim becomes pregnant, but unable to face an uncertain future with another child, she deliberately aborts the fetus. From then on Kelsey and Prim turn from each other.

The time comes when the cattle have to be moved, and Prim decides to join Kelsey, Monte and ranch hands with the cattle drive. Not too long into the drive, they are tortured by an horrendous blizzard. Here Prim, Monte and Kelsey show that in a crisis all things change. By the end of the drive after fighting the adverse weather, treacherous terrain and the loss of half of their cattle, all but Kelsey's cousin Tommy survive. It is a final turning point in their lives and Kelsey and Prim once again find the essential element that keep all people together. Prim finally realizes that she really belongs in the West.

This story gives insight into the hardships of people leaving their homeland and living in a new country and environment. It tells of the many changes, both physical and psychological that people must endure to succeed and survive. It shows the inner core of such people, and how they can overcome the adversities of an unknown future, unpredictable elements and in spite of personal human frailties, come out winners.

Peggy Simson Curry is a native of Scotland. She left that country with her family while very young and lived in North Park. Like her characters, she has become a true Westerner, and now lives in Casper, Wyoming. In 1981 she was named poet laureate for the State of Wyoming by Governor Ed Herschler.

JEAN BRAINERD

Brainerd, a native of London, is Research and Oral Historian for the Archives, Museums & Historical Department.

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ELIZABETH M. ROSENBERG is responsible for the handsome portraits of Russell, Majors and Wadell illustrating the Gray article in this issue of *Annals*. A gifted artist, Rosenberg has executed handsome pen and ink drawings of some of Wyoming's historical buildings. These renderings boast painstaking attention to architectural detail and are prized by their owners.

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ANNALS of WYOMING

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THE WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

The function of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department is to collect and preserve materials which tell the story of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the State Art Gallery and the State Archives. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and art and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artifacts for museum display. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts. Department facilities are designed to preserve these materials from loss and deterioration. The State Historic Preservation Office is also located in the Department.

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ABOUT THE COVER—“Winter Aspen XX” is a watercolor by Jackson Hole artist Sheila Langlois. It expresses the pristine serenity and tranquility of Wyoming’s high country in the late fall and early winter months. Langlois has skillfully communicated the grace and dignity of the trees which beautify the mountains of the American West.

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The Pioneer Farthings of Laramie County

by Gerald M. Adams

Introduction:

This article is a result of a series of interviews conducted by the author. It is representative of how oral history can be used to collect and preserve important information from Wyoming's past. From the days of Homer, through the times of the troubadours of the Middle Ages and to the present, the oral tradition has been a major means of compiling and retaining the story of man and his milieu. Generations of Americans have learned of the lives of their antecedants through stories and anecdotes lovingly gathered and kept—as much, perhaps, to entertain as to inform.

Oral history is an excellent tool. As a respected discipline, it is used to record ethnic, social, economic and genealogical information. In an era when advanced technology is rapidly doing away with written documents formerly the source of historical data, it has become a necessity. There has been a real decline in letter writing, journal keeping and few people are likely to commit their personal lives to paper in the form of a memoir. Oral history is, in short, a replacement for paper documents, and at the same time, a supplement to paper documents. It is a guarantee that a place or people's experience is made a permanent record.

Historical repositories and historical journals across the nation are encouraging the collection of important data obtained through oral history. The editorial staff of Annals of Wyoming enthusiastically joins other like agencies and publications in fostering the pursuit of oral history. In doing so, we pledge to assist in preserving Wyoming's unique heritage.

Few families have been in southern Wyoming longer or done more for their communities, ranching and themselves than the Farthings. The patriarch, Merrill L. Farthing of Iron Mountain, is one of the most well-liked and respected ranchers of Laramie County and is still active in his 80s maintaining a work and social schedule that would prostrate most men half his age. He maintains that hard work and honest dealings are an important part of the Farthing heritage. The Farthing Ranch is unique in remaining essentially a "hands-on" family operation in a day when many large Wyoming ranches have been acquired by absentee owners or big corporations.

The Farthings had an interest in horses and cattle long before they came to Wyoming more than a hundred years ago. Merrill's grandfather, Thomas, bought horses in Cheyenne in 1881 for use at his whiskey distillery in Buffalo, New York, and to sell. Good horses could be obtained in Cheyenne at low prices. Horsepower had long been important to the distillery's operation, which had been started before the Civil War by the elder Farthing.

Cattle were also fattened in the distillery feedlots on used whiskey grain mash. Scrawny shorthorn cattle bought in Canada and fed mash were quickly fleshed out at a profit for the distillery, and made happy too.

Ranching opportunities in Laramie County impressed Thomas Farthing, and his two sons, Harry and Charles, were to become area ranchers. In 1884, Thomas Farthing bought a 2,000 acre ranch from Cheyenne hotel operator Tim Dyer for eldest son Harry. Located about twenty miles north and a little west of Cheyenne on Lodgepole Creek, the ranch had water, good meadows and an expansion potential. Government land in the area could be grazed



From the Farthing Family Album . . .

Charles Farthing in Sunday Clothes, 1910

The Ranch Buildings in 1907

A Swimming Party in the 1920s



free and there were dry-farm homesteads, earlier claimed up, that could be bought at very reasonable prices. To start a cattle herd, shorthorn bulls were brought from Buffalo and crossbred with Herefords. Work horses (Shires) and riding horses (Thoroughbreds crossed) were also brought in and bred with western horses. Characteristics of those first riding horses are still discernible in the Farthing's Iron Mountain horse herd. Stories of the horse that remains most vividly in Merrill Farthing's memory pertains to his grandfather Thomas Farthing's favorite driving horse, a mare named Gypsy. Her good traits and features are still very much appreciated at Iron Mountain.

The Harry Farthing Ranch on Lodgepole Creek, was owned by Merrill's uncle. It maintained a steady growth rate despite the terrible winter of 1886-1887 and the depressed beef prices of that period. When Harry Farthing died in 1947 childless, still ranching at the age of 83, his principal heirs included the two sons of his brother Charles, Tom and Merrill. In an exchange of property rights with Merrill, brother Tom took possession of the Lodgepole Creek Ranch and continued that successful ranching operation until his death in 1959. The ranch is now owned in part by Tom Farthing's daughter, Mrs. Sharon Tuck of Cheyenne.

When Merrill's father, Charles, followed his older brother west in 1902, another ranch was purchased of 2,000 acres. Charles and his young wife, Maude Briggs, settled on the Edwards Ranch at the head of Chugwater Creek near Iron Mountain. The Chugwater Creek Ranch, like the Lodgepole Creek Ranch, had plenty of government land around it for grazing cattle. This ranch, greatly expanded, is now known as the Farthing Ranch at Iron Mountain.

Born in a rented "town house" at the southwest corner of 16th Street and Central in Cheyenne on December 23, 1903, Merrill Farthing remembers his family and the growing-up years with fond memories. The Iron Mountain ranch soon included an elementary schoolhouse, bunkhouse, cookhouse and other houses where married ranch hands lived. It was a small community in itself. Many people and horses were required to run a cattle ranch. The Farthing kids never lacked for things to do and the boys did the work of full-time hands while also attending school in the winter months.

Merrill graduated from the old Central High in Cheyenne then located between Central and Warren on 22nd Street in 1922, the last class before razing the building and relocating the school a few blocks north. Merrill and brother Tom had a room in a house near the school during the school term and took their meals at Schmidt's Boarding House located on Central between 16th and 17th Streets.

Everybody in the family worked when they were not in school including Merrill's two sisters, now Mrs. Betty Forde of California and Mrs. Helen Peasley of Cheyenne. The girls were particularly helpful in the hay fields during

the haying season. Merrill recalls that they did not have much money but they always had fun and interesting things to do.

While entertainment usually centered on the family and close to home, other ranch families often joined in. Barn dances were a favorite and always well-attended, as were school box suppers and polo games. The Farthing polo field attracted players and they could always get a good polo game going on summer Sunday afternoons.

When the Farthings started the Iron Mountain ranch in 1902, breeding stock came from the Harry Farthing Ranch on Lodgepole Creek. Although Harry was thirteen years older than Charles, the brothers enjoyed a close relationship and helped each other throughout their lives. The remnant strains of cows and horses shipped to Harry by grandfather Farthing from Buffalo in 1884 are in the animals at the Farthing Iron Mountain ranch today.

Although shorthorn bulls were used mainly to cross-breed initially, Herefords and other breeds of bulls were also used. The Farthings never opted for a purebred Hereford herd, but Merrill does use some Hereford bulls. Angus bulls, and more recently the Charolais, are also used, producing what Merrill terms a "commercial" herd.

Merrill believes that he knows everything about ranch mortgages and the condition of being heavily in debt. His father bought surrounding land when it came up for sale and Merrill has done the same. The 1930s Depression and drouth slowed down the land buying program for a few years, and even threatened the ranch. Rural properties were being repossessed in record numbers. The Depression, which drastically reduced cattle market prices, was bad enough but the drouth of that period caused range grass to become scarce all over the high plains region. Cattle were starving in Laramie County and money to buy supplemental feed seemed as scarce as good grass. Selling the stock often offered the only alternative even though the cattle market remained severely depressed during most of the 1930s.

In order to keep things together and with some cash money coming in to pay the bills, Merrill's father took a job for three years with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a government agency formed to help ranchers and farmers survive those troubled years. Merrill's brother, Tom, operated the general store the Farthings had built in 1920 while Merrill managed the ranch and also worked part time for the nearby John Whitaker Ranch. Thus the Farthings at Iron Mountain were able to hold on to their ranch and survive the drouth and depression of the 1930s.

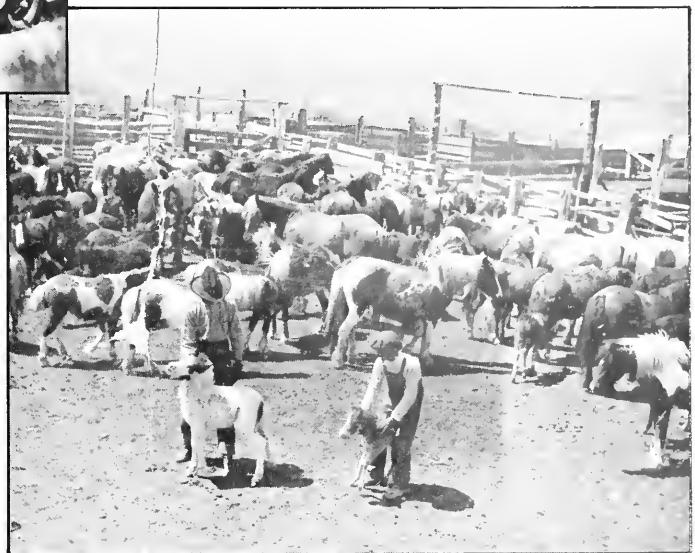
State maps show a town of Farthing on Highway 211 near Iron Mountain, but little more than a sign, a railroad siding and a post office remain. When the railroad built a line through the ranch, they named their station near Sand Creek, Farthing. But the post office, originally located in Farthing's general store, was given the name of Iron Mountain by the Postal Department. In addition to the Far-

From the Family Album . . .



Above, a trail herd of 400 ponies headed from Iron Mountain to Fort Laramie, where they sold for \$10.00 each in 1934.

Right, a Shetland pony round up in the corral.



thing's general store and post office, there stood a train station, a schoolhouse, several houses and barns. There also were sidetracks for the railroad to unload supplies for the ranchers, a water tower, and a full-time booster engine that helped trains over the steep grade south of the station. All in all, the town of Farthing or Iron Mountain had a full time population of some twenty-five people, and saw a lot of activity. The Farthing home ranch house is about two miles west, nestled in the foothills of the Laramie Mountains. Merrill says that they never had far to go when they wanted to go to town, Farthing/Iron Mountain that is.

In any case, fires at various times were the undoing of the town and the railroad could not see fit to replace their burned buildings. Years ago, not much could be done on a ranch or in a small town when a fire got started in a good wind. The railroad figured that any rebuilt buildings would only burn again. Also, as roads were extended and transportation improved throughout the State, small trading outposts such as Farthing/Iron Mountain became less important. A major change came when the forty-eight mile road to Cheyenne finally got an oil surface in 1959. The post office is about all that remains at Farthing/Iron Mountain and it is operated out of an abandoned boxcar two hours a day, six days a week. Merrill calculates that the postmistress, Mrs. Marian McGlees who lives on a ranch about three miles away, constitutes a population of one for Farthing/Iron Mountain—at least two hours a day, six days a week.

Although cattle have always been the mainstay, the Iron Mountain Farthings were also involved in the Shetland pony business for several years with a herd of some eight hundred ponies. The herd had been started in 1879 when Merrill's father had been given three Shetland ponies, two mares and a stud. The offspring produced by those three Shetlands came west with Charles Farthing and provided a good revenue for the ranch in the 1920s, and again in the 1940s and 1950s. This Shetland herd became so well known that in 1926, Pathé News brought their cameras to the Farthing Ranch so they could show their nationwide movie audiences the big pony herd. Shetland ponies were very popular, cost about \$50 and made great pets for kids.

The drouth and poor grazing conditions during the early 1930s caused much of the Farthing's pony herd to be sold, but the herd grew again when the moisture and grass returned. During the good years the Farthings marketed ponies all over the country. The market "went crazy" for a while in the 1950s with an average Shetland selling for \$500 or more, but then the market fell back to a \$25 level where it has remained for many years.

Along with a sizeable cattle herd, the Farthings now keep thirty saddle horses and fifty Shetland ponies. About twenty-five Shetland colts are sold each fall at Fort Collins to keep the herd sized. Ponies are no longer profitable for the Farthing Ranch, but neither are they any trouble to raise, according to Merrill. Great foragers, the Shetlands

winter well in the hills of the ranch and are seldom seen until the fall roundup. Surprisingly, ponies live longer than horses, thirty years being a good age for a pony.

The Farthings presented a Shetland pony to the University of Wyoming's football team as a mascot in 1950 and he was titled "Cowboy Joe." Two replacement ponies have since been provided, Cowboy Joe III assuming the duties of mascot in 1981. The tender loving care given to the mascots at the University seems to shorten their life span. The animals survive longer roughing it in the hills of the Farthing Ranch. A strong Farthing attachment to these ponies is evident whenever they are discussed. Merrill feels that the ponies have been good to his family for more than a hundred years and he hopes that there will always be a place for the Shetlands at the Farthing Ranch.

Merrill and Grayce Farthing celebrated their Golden Wedding Anniversary in 1983 with a grand reception at the Hitching Post, hosted by their three children, Mrs. Betty Bishop of Cheyenne, Mrs. Merrilyn Segrest of Albuquerque, and Charles Farthing of Iron Mountain. A native of Saratoga, Wyo., Grayce Moore was teaching school at Farthing/Iron Mountain, Wyo., when she met Merrill. Seven grandchildren and about 500 friends attended the reception to help celebrate this auspicious occasion—the half-century partnership of two beautiful people.

The Farthing strategy, with its focus on hard work and keen attention to the land and animals along with a long-

practiced family-decision making process that encompasses the major phases of ranch operations, has been successful by every measure. Their strong cattle herd has enabled them to survive the bad years, improve their holdings, send their children to college—or most of their kids—and live a good life.

While Merrill's two sisters and two daughters all graduated from the University of Wyoming, neither Merrill, his brother Tom nor his son Charles attended college. They all felt that the ranch needed them more than did the University of Wyoming.

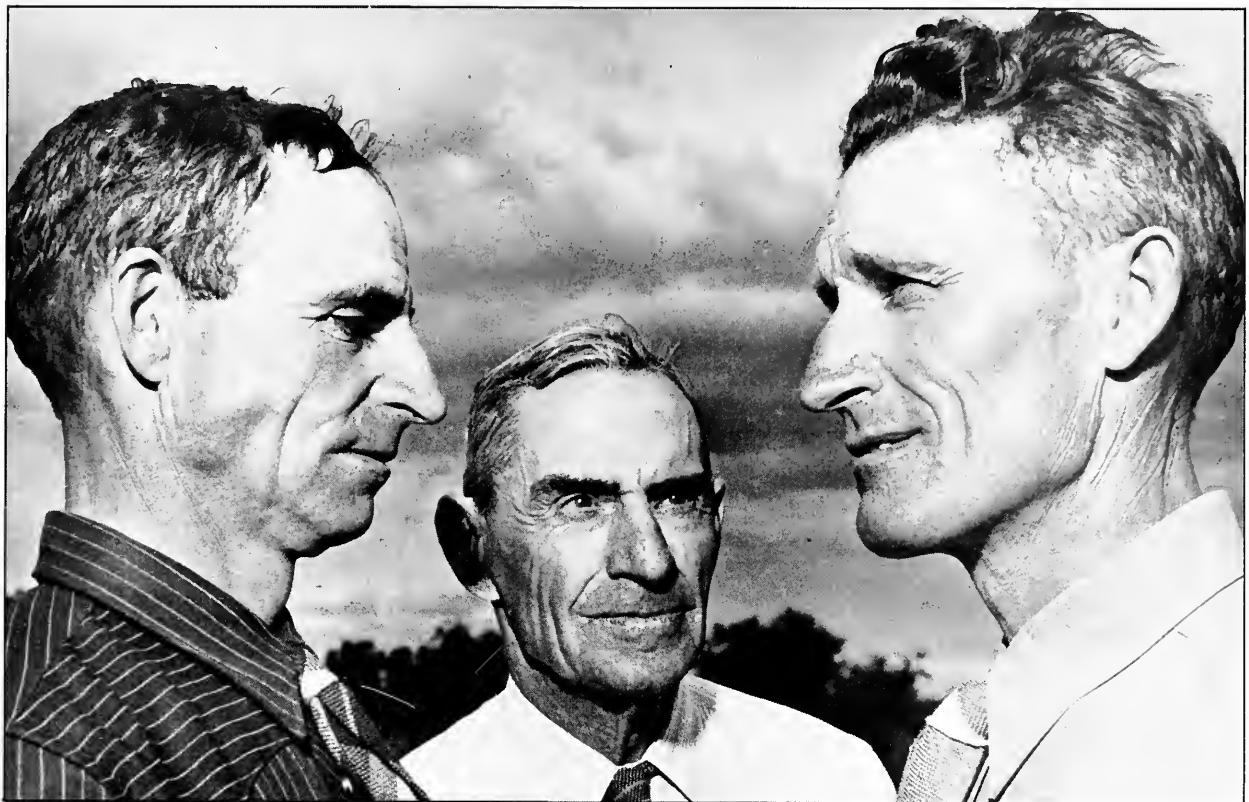
Merrill's father served two terms in the Wyoming legislature and a term as county commissioner, but Merrill has never sought public office. His attention and energy has always been devoted to the ranch. Merrill and Grayce Farthing have, however, always participated in Southeast Wyoming civic and social activities, being Presbyterians, members of the Cheyenne Country Club, Wyoming Stock Grower's Association, The Newcomen Society, and the American National Cattlemen's Association.

Merrill is also a 32nd Degree Mason. An excellent after-dinner speaker, Merrill Farthing is loaded with good humor and would have done well in any circuit as a stand-up comedian.

Merrill's father and mother decided in 1950 that it was time for them to move from the ranch to town, to an apartment in the Plains Hotel in Cheyenne. The elder Farthing



University of Wyoming mascot Cowboy Joe I in 1950. The young man, Dick Anderson, had just taken the pony to be fitted for chaps at the T. J. Holmes Saddle Shop in Cheyenne.



Merrill, Charles and Thomas Farthing, photographed by a Soviet camera crew in 1950.

had long been plagued with eye and back problems, and unable to ride a horse. The day-to-day ranch management had been Merrill's task since the 1920s.

After Merrill and Grayce moved into the big ranch house in 1950, they continued to expand the ranch and it has more than doubled in size in those thirty-five years. The 9,000 acres acquired with Frank Bosler's Bar Circle Ranch, the 6,000 acres that came with the Wallace Ranch, 6,000 acres acquired in 1984 from the Hirsig Ranch, plus sizeable purchases from the Whitaker family and some other smaller purchases, make the Farthing Ranch at Iron Mountain a very sizeable Laramie County holding. When asked how much land and how many cattle he has, Merrill's response is typical of an Iron Mountain rancher when he says, "not enough to make any money."

Merrill Farthing remains at age 82 a working rancher. He is in the saddle from morning to night when cattle are being moved and in the hayfield at all hours during the haying season. He goes wherever he is needed at other times. Only one full-time ranch hand is hired now, with Merrill and Charles, father and son, doing most of the work. Some summer help is taken-on during the haying season, usually two or more grandsons. Modern machines can now do the work of many hands and horses required before.

Merrill and Grayce bought a condominium-townhouse in Cheyenne in 1979 and turned the main ranch house over to son Charles and his wife Carol, in much the same way that Merrill's parents had turned the house over to him and

Grayce in 1950. When asked who is now boss at the ranch, Merrill's answer reflects his keen sense of humor: "You can be sure that the Farthing Ranch never lacks for managers or management."

In a day that runs heavily toward absentee and/or corporate ownership of ranches, the family owned and operated Farthing Ranch represents Wyoming longevity, independence and tenacity. It also represents ranching families all over the American West, but at the same time the ranch has maintained the quality of being uniquely Farthing. To be sure, the Farthing Ranch is a business but it's a family business with human qualities. It seems as if only in the High Plains of the West do such institutions still exist.

Charles and Carol Farthing have two small sons, so the prospect of a continuing father-son team of Farthings running the ranch seems good. In Merrill's view, he had a high regard for his father and they always worked well together. He hopes that his son feels the same way about him. Merrill stays in a small house at the ranch five nights a week so he can work hard six days "helping Charley." Grayce loves living in Cheyenne and the beautiful Westgate condominium-townhouse, and she wishes that Merrill would spend more time in town and traveling with her. Merrill has a great regard for Grayce, but he also loves the ranch and everything there. Although he comes to town on week-ends and special occasions, and enjoys the townhouse very much, he refers to it as Grayce's house. Merrill's preferred home will always be "the ranch."

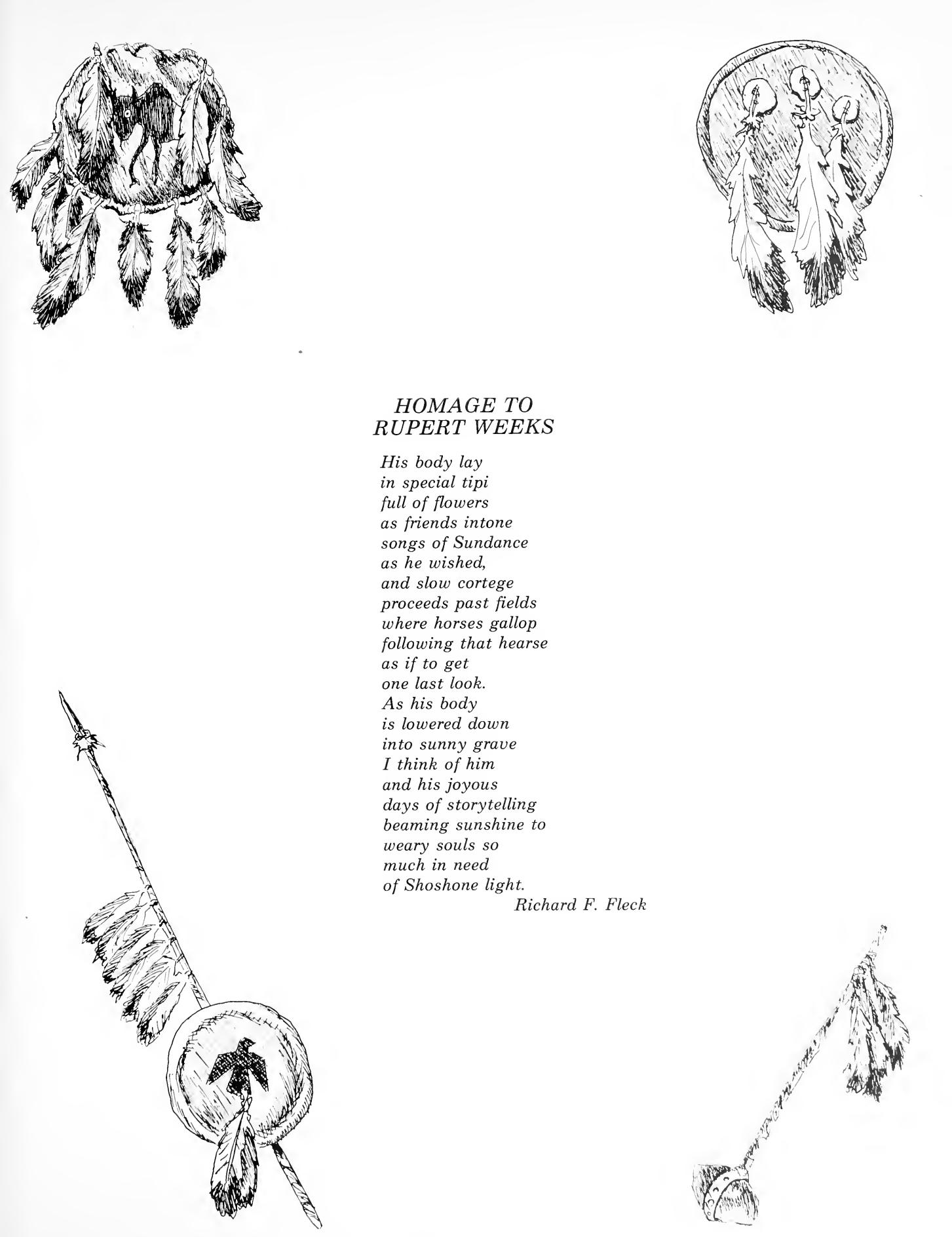


RUPERT WEEKS 1918-1983

Weeks was born in Garland, Utah and attended a government industrial school in the 1920s about which he humorously remarked that he was not so much brainwashed as he was whitewashed.

In 1933 he moved to the Wind River Indian Reservation and came to know and love that land with the sensitivity of an artist. During World War II he served under General Patton in the 80th Blue Ridge Division as a cannoneer marching from Normandy to the Czech-German border.

After the war Rupert Weeks took up painting in acrylics, and these portray his deep feelings for wildlife and landscapes. Some of these works now hang in the Museum of the Great Plains Indian Life at Browning, Montana and in the Gottsche Foundation in Thermopolis. He taught Shoshone culture and language at the University of Wyoming, told traditional stories to the children at various Wyoming Indian schools and served on the tribal council at Fort Washakie. He was loved and respected throughout the state of Wyoming, and many readers today are enjoying Weeks' only book, *Pachee Goyo* (1981).



HOMAGE TO RUPERT WEEKS

*His body lay
in special tipi
full of flowers
as friends intone
songs of Sundance
as he wished,
and slow cortege
proceeds past fields
where horses gallop
following that hearse
as if to get
one last look.
As his body
is lowered down
into sunny grave
I think of him
and his joyous
days of storytelling
beaming sunshine to
weary souls so
much in need
of Shoshone light.*

Richard F. Fleck

GOSSARD versus CRANE

National Issues Brought
to the University of Wyoming
in the 1920s

by
William L. Hewitt
Deborah S. Welch

Prohibition, professional athletics, militarism, flappers, fanatics: all were issues of social concern and criticism throughout the nation in the 1920s. It seems unlikely that the University of Wyoming, a small and relatively isolated institution in those years, would have assumed any prominence in the country's debates over these issues. Yet controversy reached this campus. In a five year battle between two prominent men, A. G. Crane, president of the University, and H. C. Gossard, chairman of the mathematics department, national arguments over drinking, paid athletes, and militarism became campus issues as well. The following discussion examines that battle and the impact it made on the University during the "Roaring Twenties."¹

On the surface, H. C. Gossard was a competent, even exemplary academician. Having received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University, Gossard first spent six years as a mathematics professor at the University of Oklahoma. He brought this experience to his new position in 1921 as University of Wyoming mathematics instructor. By 1923, he had risen to Department head. In addition to his professional credentials, Gossard displayed enthusiastic support for the activities of the Methodist Church, which impressed Wyoming President Aven Nelson, chairman of the Board of the Wyoming Wesley Foundation.²

Upon his arrival at the University of Wyoming, Gossard had immediately become heavily involved with the local Methodist church, teaching a Sunday School class and serving on the finance committee of the congregation. Indeed, many church members credited him with pulling the church out of debt. At the same time, he assumed a leading role in the Student Christian Association branch of the Y.M.C.A. on campus, and was active in drawing students on campus into that organization as well as into youth activities at the church.

This show of concern for young people and laudable work on their behalf quickly made Dr. Gossard a much respected member of the Laramie community. During his first year in Laramie, he was brought into the local Lions Club whose members shared the common view of Gossard as a knowledgeable and admirable man.³ Moreover, while Nelson served as president of the University, Gossard apparently played no role other than that of a dedicated teacher, church-goer, and well-liked member of the community. Then in 1922, Nelson made the decision to step down from the presidency and resume teaching botany. In October of that year, Dr. Arthur Griswold Crane was brought in by the Board of Trustees as the new University president.

Crane received his B.S. degree from Carleton College. While serving as superintendent in various school systems in the Middle West and as President of the State Normal

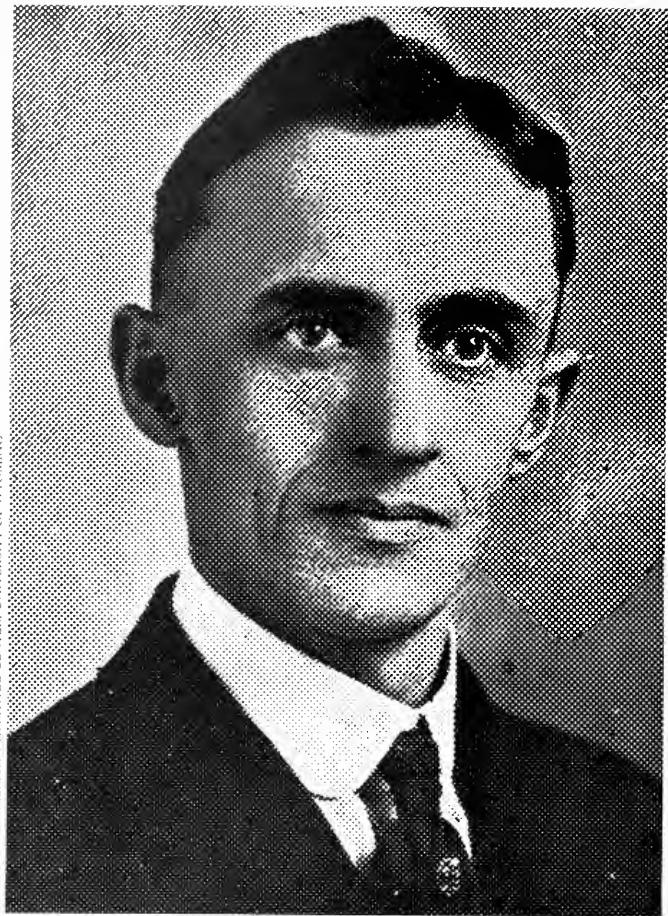
School of Minot, North Dakota from 1912 to 1920, he earned M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia Teachers' College. In addition, during World War I, he acted as director of educational rehabilitation in the Sanitary Corps in Washington, D.C. In 1922, Crane took over the presidency of the University of Wyoming after two years as president of the State Normal School at Edinboro, Pennsylvania.⁴

Repeated attacks upon his administration were to mar Crane's first five years at Wyoming. Criticism of the president centered around social issues such as drinking, militarism, athletics, and moral conduct in general. When the fog of suspicions and accusations cleared, it was obvious that all of these attacks originated in the scheming ambition of one man—H. C. Gossard.

Gossard began his secretive campaign against President Crane in 1924 when he brought Sherwood Eddy to campus. Eddy had just returned from the Soviet Union and his address was advertised as a speech on Russian internal conditions.⁵ At Gossard's recommendation, the faculty discussion committee went so far as to persuade Dr. Crane to suspend classes and order an all-university assembly for Eddy's address. What followed was not an academic oration, but "a revival meeting" in which Eddy preached on the sins of militarism and paid college athletes.⁶ Gossard had accomplished his purpose of embarrassing the administration, but was never held accountable. Feigning surprise at Eddy's comments, along with his colleagues on the faculty, Gossard still offered surreptitious support for the Eddy speech. While other teachers, particularly those on the discussion committee, may have had their suspicions that "Dr. Gossard had gotten us there under false pretences," as one observed later, no one at the time ventured to make any accusations. It was, as one member of the Board of Trustees later testified, "hard to realize that he [Gossard] was doing underhanded things."⁷

Yet, Gossard's capacity for underhanded dealings became clear to all following the distribution of *The White Mule Boomerang*, a satirization of the name of the Laramie newspaper, on Easter morning in 1926. *The White Mule*, a hastily printed scandal sheet charged President Crane with ignoring the public display of drunkenness at the Midwest Cafe, a local restaurant. It observed that "Peeking through one's fingers at a disgusting sight does not lessen the stigma attached, or benefit the morale of the University we love."⁸

The seriousness of this charge made against a university president, the appointed guardian of the minds and morals of university students, at a time when Prohibition was national law, cannot be overestimated. Neither the Wyoming students nor the Laramie community believed these charges and both heartily condemned the anonym-



Harry C. Gossard, ". . . a competent and exemplary acamedician."

mous attack—*The White Mule* was unsigned and placed in residents' doors and mailboxes during the night. Nonetheless, the sheet could not be ignored and Crane immediately began a search for its source.

Suspicion centered on two local ministers, Reverend W. L. French and Reverend Raymond H. Laury, who had taken it upon themselves to be active self-appointed watchdogs against any hint of drinking by students or townspeople. Consequently, Crane broadened his conspiracy suspicions to include Gossard because of his affiliation with the First Methodist Church, which employed French and Laury, but more importantly, because Laury lived with the Gossard family. The latter made it very unlikely that Gossard would not have been aware of Laury's plans, particularly since the two men shared a common concern about the so-called moral laxity on campus.

Determined to discover the authors of *The White Mule* as quickly as possible, President Crane made the extraordinary move of requesting a local attorney, Charles V. Garnett to secure the services of a private detective. Garnett hired Denver investigator, Roy O. Samson who analyzed copies of *The White Mule*, University class registration cards bearing the handwriting of Laury, copies of the print type from the Methodist Church mimeograph machine, as well as a poster hand-printed by Laury. At

Crane's request that the findings be accomplished in all haste, Samson made an enlarged photographic illustration comparing the handwriting from the scrawled title, *The White Mule*, with samples of Laury's handwriting. He also compared the type from *The White Mule* with other mimeographed copies he had from the church press. Samson even tracked down the paper on which the slander sheet had been printed to a local shopkeeper who swore that Laury had purchased the paper. From this evidence, Samson concluded that *The White Mule* had been printed on the church machine and that the printed title had come from the hand of Raymond Laury.¹⁰

Five days after Samson reported his findings, Crane met with Lon C. Davis of the Federal Prohibition Office in Cheyenne where he learned that Laury had been sending that office the names of students on campus who, according to the minister, were drinking. Moreover, Crane discovered that both Laury and French had been involved in schemes using students posing as potential liquor buyers in an attempt to entrap other students.¹¹ The failure of these plots to uncover any liquor on campus had done nothing to alleviate the suspicions of Laury and French as is evidenced by the subsequent printing of *The White Mule*.

With so much evidence amassed against Laury, Crane appointed a faculty committee which began a series of interviews with Laury and French, and Gossard. In the midst

Arthur G. Crane, a victim of harsh criticism and a smear campaign.





University President Crane and his family made a spectacular entrance in Laramie in a historic stage coach. Symbolic of Wyoming's western image, the event is immortalized in a Student Union mural.

of these sessions, four students went to Crane's office and admitted to their part in the printing and distribution of *The White Mule*. Whether alarmed by the seriousness of the situation, pressured by their peers, or perhaps motivated by a desire to protect Laury or Gossard, the students confessed their individual involvement, but refused to implicate anyone else. One of the boys was the son of a University trustee, J. J. Marshall. In conversations with his son and with the parents of the other students involved, all of whom were from Sheridan, Trustee Marshall concluded that Laury was responsible for the attack on Crane.¹² The UW faculty agreed and by a unanimous vote dismissed Laury as a campus minister.¹³

Laury was thus punished; yet, he alone was not to blame. Crane, as well as many of the faculty, knew that both French and Gossard were behind the accusations printed in *The White Mule*, as Crane wrote to Marshall,

The boys were influenced by Reverend Laury and he in turn is controlled and guided by a group consisting of Reverend French, Dr. Nelson, and Dr. Gossard. Though the young men have sought in their testimony to fully exonerate any of these faculty members, nevertheless, it is plain that had the faculty members manifested in the past, disapproval of such tactics and such broadside accusations, the *White Mule* would never have appeared.

... This is about the fourth campaign of gossip, scandal and propaganda which the institution has suffered during the last three years. Each campaign has had the same characteristics of unsupported exaggeration and each has emanated from the same source.¹⁴

Among the other scandals about which Crane wrote were the issues of anti-militarism and paid athletes.¹⁵ With these issues, as well, Gossard encouraged others to attack the University and particularly the Crane administration while he remained behind the scenes protected from any charges of direct involvement.

In the 1920s, militarism concerned many Americans. The entry of the United States into World War I advanced the establishment of both Army and Navy training units, Student Army Training Corps (S.A.T.C.) on more than five hundred campuses throughout the nation. At the announcement of peace in Europe, the War Department decided that with the dismantling of the S.A.T.C., new R.O.T.C. classes would replace these units. The reasons for this continuance of military education found ready acceptance among University of Wyoming students who heartily supported R.O.T.C.—in fact, they dedicated the student yearbook of 1920 to the head of military studies, Major B. C. Daly. This not only reflected a high-pitched patriotic fervor and sense of public responsibility which had been brought on by the war, but UW administrators also recognized the potential benefits to the college made possible by federal funds which accompanied R.O.T.C. units.¹⁶

As a land grant college required by the Morrill Act of 1862 to institute military training, the University of Wyoming had required a course in military science since 1891.



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R.O.T.C. Commandant Beverly C. Daly

Under the leadership of Major Beverly C. Daly, brought to UW as professor of military science in 1911, the R.O.T.C. program grew offering a two-year advanced elective in addition to the two-year basic required course. In fact, the R.O.T.C. at the University of Wyoming enjoyed sustained growth and support in the campus community. In the post World War I decade, college campuses throughout the nation showed a marked increase in R.O.T.C. enrollment of 165%, while Wyoming boasted a growth rate of 280%. Augmenting Daly's success was the unqualified support of President Crane, who served as Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs for the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities.

Expansion of the R.O.T.C. during the 1920s, however, was accompanied by a growing attack against the program on the national level by pacifist groups. Primarily an Eastern movement, the anti-militarism campaign had little effect on Wyoming where the enthusiasm for military study shared by University administration and students alike continued undiminished until the end of the decade. The popularity of the R.O.T.C. remained solid despite the appearance on campus of several pacifist speakers sponsored by the Y.M.C.A. Sherwood Eddy, "Dad" Elliott,

Paul Blanshard and Frank Olmstead, members of the emerging anti-militarism movement, spoke before Wyoming students throughout the decade. Yet their presence made little impact other than to inspire student letters published in the campus newspaper pointing out the advantages of R.O.T.C. training.¹⁹ Even the visit in 1925 of John Nevin Sayre, Episcopal minister and a leader of the Committee on Militarism in Education (C.M.E.) failed to undermine R.O.T.C. support among students.²⁰ Nevertheless, this trip West was not a complete failure for Sayre and his cause, for while in Laramie, he met Gossard, ready and willing to supply him with ammunition for his anti-R.O.T.C. campaign in Wyoming.

The connection between Sayre and Gossard remains obscure because in the controversy which followed, as in all others with which Gossard was involved, the professor was painstakingly careful to remain behind the scenes. Clearly, the two men shared similar viewpoints as officials in the Y.M.C.A., and it was that organization which brought Sayre to Laramie. Moreover, it was at this time that Gossard joined the community "Law-not-War" committee, an off-shoot of the Committee on Military Education. Finally, the professor's penchant for undermining

Crane suggests that the following misinformation given to Sayre about Crane and the R.O.T.C. on the UW campus originated in a Gossard intrigue. Subsequent to his visit to campus, Sayre wrote an article for *The World Tomorrow*, a pacifist journal in which he charged that the R.O.T.C. commandant at Wyoming controlled the University Speakers' Committee and forbade the presence of anyone holding anti-military views on campus. Moreover, Sayre charged, a detective had been employed to follow a faculty member of the "Law-not-War" committee in order to detect "evidence of unpatriotism."²¹ Both Crane and Daly vigorously refuted these charges.²² Yet the damage had been done. Military censorship at the University of Wyoming became a matter of discussion on campuses throughout the nation, and surfaced again two years later as an issue in an article titled, "What the Blue Menace Means" which appeared in *Harpers Magazine*.²³

Major Daly had no doubts that Gossard had given his version of what was occurring at Wyoming to Sayre and the pacifist press. Meanwhile, the furor created by *The White Mule* charges and his hidden hand in other attacks on Crane put Gossard in an awkward position. He had requested a leave of absence at one-half pay in order to expand his services to the Y.M.C.A. As more information surfaced concerning the controversies which had plagued the campus, Crane retaliated and sought the backing of various administrative bodies, who threatened to censure

Gossard. The faculty executive committee called by Crane to review Gossard's activities as department head concluded that his actions reflected unfavorably on the University. The Board of Trustees overwhelmingly concurred and voted to offer Gossard a one-year conditional contract with the understanding that it would be his last year as a faculty member.²⁴

In still another attempt to bring the Crane administration into disrepute, Gossard added the issue of paid athletes to the charges of drinking and militaristic censorship on campus. Athletics, especially football, had grown to be an increasingly popular part of college life at Wyoming, as on other campuses. In January 1921, Wyoming had been admitted to the Rocky Mountain Athletic Conference despite the dissenting vote of Colorado University that Wyoming athletes "played like hired men, hired to play the game."²⁵ Whether Colorado made this charge for reasons of rivalry or honest suspicion is unknown. At any rate, it was dropped and soon forgotten until four years later when the charge was revived by the Associated Press which reported that Wyoming's football coach paid players.²⁶

The 1926 Varsity Football Squad, bitterly vilified by Gossard as paid athletes.



ARCHIVES, AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING



William H. "Lonestar" Dietz, another victim of Gossard's acrimonious outpouring.

This time, Gossard had little opportunity to deny responsibility for the controversy. He had made confidential accusations against the University of Wyoming athletic program before the Rocky Mountain Regional Athletic Conference. Posing as a member of the faculty, despite the fact that he had resigned after being offered the terminal contract, Gossard testified that he had proof of professionalism at UW. He provided a list of names of Laramie residents whom he insisted could substantiate his charges. At the same time, he indiscreetly sent a memo to each

trustee incriminating Head Football Coach W. H. "Lonestar" Dietz and the local Lion's Club in a scheme to provide a slush fund for Wyoming athletes.²⁷

In truth, the Lion's Club had awarded funds to a few students of both sexes, athletes and non-athletes alike. The professionalism issue centered around basketball captain Boyd "OK" Erickson of Cheyenne.²⁸ Erickson had come from a single parent family. He worked during summer breaks while attending the University in order to help his mother raise three brothers. According to Dr. Crane, Erickson received a one hundred dollar scholarship from UW in addition to a one hundred dollar scholarship from the Lions Club and a sum less than one hundred dollars from Dr. Brown of the Club. Crane revealed that these facts had been presented to Colorado State University and Colorado University officials, who had threatened to boycott UW teams and "both schools accepted him and allowed him to play, saying that he was entirely eligible and they had no complaint whatever."²⁹ The bewildering fact revealed to the American Association of University Professors investigators by Thurman Arnold was that Gossard had served on the Lions Club committee which had selected Erickson for the scholarship. Consequently, the Lions Club voted unanimously to revoke Gossard's membership.³⁰

By early 1926, reaction to the "anonymous" attack of *The White Mule* and Gossard's subversive activities swelled from both the University and the Laramie community. The final blow to Gossard's reputation occurred after numerous complaints concerning his attempt to undermine the University during the course of the 1927 legislative session in Cheyenne. *The Wyoming Eagle* reported on March 4, 1927 that "Mr. Gossard spent considerable time in Cheyenne, certain warm friends of the University in the legislature reporting that he attempted to prejudice them against the President and others of the Wyoming school." However, the legislators rebuffed Gossard and they avowed, "that his tactics only served to strengthen their own confidence in the institution and their own determination to see that it received a goodly sized appropriation so long as that appropriation was reasonable."³¹

Thus, once again, Gossard's campaign against the University and the Crane administration failed. The appropriation by the state legislature was unaffected. The University continued as a member of the Rocky Mountain Association. Finally, Crane's position was stronger than ever in the aftermath of Gossard's many charges. The President's quick and thorough defense of the University against the charges of drinking, militarism, and paid athletes brought him the respect and loyalty of both the Board of Trustees and the student body.³²

What motivated Gossard, aside from revenge after being terminated in his University position? Was it a sincere desire to reform what he viewed as the wrongs occurring on campus? Clearly, he was an avid prohibitionist.

As Thurman Arnold, former Laramie mayor and later New Deal lawyer, as well as a member of the Laramie Lions Club which ousted Gossard in 1926, testified, "Dr. Gossard seemed to be under the impression that he was a secret agent of the Prohibition Department . . ."³³ During his years in Laramie, Gossard had tried to ferret out any secret drinking either by students or townspeople. Fred Morrow Fling of the University of Nebraska appointed by the American Association of University Professors to investigate Dr. Gossard's dismissal concluded, "he seemed to be a self-appointed censor of the morals of the community."³⁴

Was there drinking on campus which offended the moral sensibilities of Professor Gossard? Certainly, although the evidence seems to suggest that there was far less of it at Wyoming than on other college campuses. Even Herbert Webster, an official of the Wyoming Anti-Saloon League, who spent three days on campus trying to prosecute students drinking, stated, "I knew where to go . . . I knew just about where students would be likely to drink . . . I went everywhere and I stayed up all night. I found just three drunken students and a very few more who gave evidence of having been drinking. I call that a good record. In schools that I had been connected with previously, I would have been sure of finding not less than a dozen drunken students . . ."³⁵ President Crane, of course, took action against the drinkers on campus, although there were few to be reprimanded. None of the action taken against both students and faculty found to be drinking resulted from evidence brought to Crane by Gossard.³⁶

The sensational attack on the military presence on the University of Wyoming campus most clearly displayed Gossard's use of spurious evidence and suggest a motive other than a sincere desire for reform. Clearly the statement he gave to the C.M.E. regarding military censorship imposed by the R.O.T.C. commander was a lie, as is evidenced by the number of pacifist speakers who appeared on campus.³⁷ As for professionalism in Wyoming football, it seems that the intentions of the coach and the Lion's Club members were above reproach. Here again, the evidence refutes Gossard's accusations. Neither the Rocky Mountain Conference, nor the faculty committee appointed by the administration and the student committee appointed by the ASUW (the student governing board), could find substantiation for the charges.

Looking deeper for a motive other than sincere moral outrage or reforming zeal, one finds ambition directing Gossard's actions. Joseph A. Elliott, president of the Board of Trustees, testified that Gossard had expected to be named president of the University in 1922 when Dr. Nelson retired. The president of the Y.M.C.A. admitted that he had expected the Board to choose Gossard for the post.³⁸

Did Gossard still secretly nurture hopes of attaining the presidency after Crane was appointed? Certainly,



As this page from the 1928 University of Wyoming yearbook shows, criticism of R.O.T.C. was neither sophisticated nor sustained.

Gossard's campaign of rumors and innuendo appears to have been undertaken in a direct attempt to discredit the Crane administration. Even more damning is the timing of *The White Mule*. It appeared on Easter morning, in early April of 1926. Only one week earlier, news had reached Laramie that Dr. Crane was being considered for the presidency of the University of Oregon. The probability that Crane considered accepting an offer from Oregon was given credence by the fact that he had requested only a one-year renewal of his contract with the Board of Trustees, instead of the traditional three-year agreement.³⁹ The appearance of the hastily written and copied *White Mule* one week later may have been designed to give Crane that push to accept the Oregon post, both by discrediting him in the eyes of the Board of Trustees and Laramie community and by simply making his position at the University so untenable that he would gladly accept another post.



*President Crane Walked Down
the Dark Streets Lined With
Parked Automobiles. As He Pulled Open the
Door Two Voices, One in Masculine Tones,
the Other in an Angry Soprano, Cried: "What's the big idea?"
And "Well,
you've got your
nerve with you!"*

*President Crane breaks up a petting party with,
"You ought to go to First Street where you
belong."*

Crane, whether or not he was offered a job at Oregon, decided to stay at the University of Wyoming and continued to serve as president until 1940. However, his subsequent policies show the scars left by the attacks of Gossard and his cohorts. Crane remained a loyal supporter of the R.O.T.C. program and a fast friend of Major Daly, and he continually rebutted the charges of militarism in the speeches he made throughout the remainder of his presidency.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, by the late 1920s, mild criticism of the R.O.T.C. appeared in University of Wyoming publications. For instance, an article in the June 6, 1929 *Branding Iron* observed that "it seems grossly unfair to the students to force upon them something which they dislike, and something which does not adequately compensate them for the hours they spend."⁴¹ Crane's sensitivity to this growing criticism as well as to the charges of militarism evoked by Gossard is apparent in his speeches to the student body throughout the 1930s in which he emphasized the academic freedom enjoyed by American, and particularly Wyoming university students as compared with the militaristic atmosphere of European universities.⁴²

Crane also appears to have been deeply sensitive to charges of leniency in matters of student moral conduct. In the 1930s, he began an intensive program to stop student drinking which culminated in his appearance one night at a campus dance, the Engineering Ball, where he went from automobile to automobile unabashedly opening car doors in an attempt to catch students drinking and petting. Crane's behavior on this occasion was so outlandish that it attracted international attention.⁴³ During this episode, Crane supposedly shouted at one young co-ed he found in a car, "You come out here for all your drinking and petting. You ought to go to First Street [Laramie's Red Light District at the time] where you belong."⁴⁴

At least in part, this transformation in Crane's behavior can be seen as a reaction to the controversies raised by Gossard and the lingering shadow cast by the professor's charges against the Crane administration. In his own mind, Gossard had doubtlessly convinced himself that he was only a reformer, trying to expunge all wrong-doing from the University campus. It seems that Gossard managed to cover his tracks so well that Crane never got absolute proof of his guilt—no confession, no direct statement by his friends implicating him, no handwriting or other evidence linking him directly. However, the two AAUP visitors apparently were convinced that his firing was justified because the AAUP did not censure the University of Wyoming for dismissing him. The combination of ruthless ambition and fanaticism, combined in this man, served to create a series of unnecessary controversies which kept the University in an uproar throughout the 1920s, the impact of which continued to be felt long after the perpetrator had gone.



- Frederick Lewis Allen's spritely study of the 1920s entitled *Only Yesterday* (1931) which focuses on flasks, flappers, flagpole sitters—the more sensational aspects of the "Jazz Age" or "Roaring Twenties," is suggested by this essay. However, as David A. Shannon points out in *Between The Wars: America, 1919-1941* (1979, p. 95), "we will do well to look beyond the flappers . . ." In this study, we will examine the confrontation which occurred between two men, both powerful figures at the University of Wyoming, and the national issues at the center of this battle.
- Testimony of Aven Nelson to the examining committee of the American Association of University Professors (A.A.U.P.), May 27, 1927, President's Office Files, University of Wyoming (hereafter referred to as P.O.F.), May 27, 1927. Professor M. J. Elrod of the University of Montana and Professor Fred Morrow Fling of the University of Nebraska were appointed by the A.A.U.P. to investigate the dismissal of Professor Gossard from the University at his request in 1927. See also, Crane to Fling, June 4, 1927 and Crane to Elrod, June 7, 1927, P.O.F., A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 29, 1927. Nelson later resigned as Director of The Wyoming Wesley Foundation after receiving a three-page letter from Crane outlining Gossard's, Laury's, and French's activities. See Crane to Nelson, May 12, 1926 and Nelson to French, Director of The Wyoming Wesley Foundation, May 14, 1926, P.O.F.
- Testimony of Thurman Arnold before the A.A.U.P. investigating committee, May 30, 1927, P.O.F.
- Data from "Crane Personal File," P.O.F. See also Wilson O. Clough, *A History of the University of Wyoming, 1887-1937* [N.P.], 1937, pp. 137-138. A unique reception awaited Crane when he neared Laramie in 1922. Clough describes "a band of hard-riding, shooting, and yelling cowboy bandits in brightly colored shirts and neckerchiefs" who "ordered the new president from the car and threateningly escorted him to an old-fashioned stagecoach, in which Dr. Nelson appeared to be already captive. Thus the new president came to Laramie in pioneer style . . ." (p. 138). See also Daisy D. Robey, "President Arthur Griswold Crane," WPA Bio. 2225, Wyoming State Archives, Museums & Historical Department, Cheyenne.
- "Sherwood Eddy to Speak Here," *The Branding Iron* (March 25, 1924): 1; and James H. Hawkes, "Antimilitarism at State Universities: The Campaign Against R.O.T.C., 1920-1940," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* LXIX (1965-66):43.
- A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 31, 1927. Eddy, noted pacifist, opposed the establishment of R.O.T.C. programs on college campuses.
- Testimony of W. H. Holliday, Trustee to A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 31, 1926, P.O.F.
- The White Mule Boomerang* (N.D.). The name of this anonymous sheet and its lead paragraph pointedly referred to an outlawed drink, "Only a fool fools with White Mule. None but Jackasses drink the Jackass brand." *The White Mule* also singled out four fraternities for censure, "A.T.O.'s, Kappa Sigs, Sig Alphs, and Sigma Nu's."
- Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1976), pp. 136, 154. Western Methodists, generally, sought zealously to expose drinkers as corruptors of public morals.
- Crane to Samson, April 10, 1926; Samson to Garnett, April 12, 1926; Samson to Crane, April 16, 1926; P.O.F.
- Crane interview with Davis, April 17, 1926, P.O.F.
- J. J. Marshall to Crane, April 29, 1926, P.O.F.
- Secretary of the Faculty Committee to Raymond Laury, May 12, 1926, P.O.F. See also *The Branding Iron*, April 29, 1926, April 27, 1926, and May 4, 1926.
- Crane to Marshall, May 1, 1926, P.O.F.
- James H. Hawkes, "Antimilitarism at State Universities: The Campaign Against Compulsory R.O.T.C., 1920-1940," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* XLIX (1965-1966): 41-54. See also *The Wyoming State Tribune*
- (April 27, 1943). Wyoming's enthusiasm for R.O.T.C. extended to the establishment of two voluntary companies of female cadets. See [Major Beverly C. Daly], "University of Wyoming Historical Sketch of the Military Department, 1891-1936," Office of the Dean of Men, August 5, 1936, Daly Bio. File, UW Archives, p. 10. Illustrating U.W.'s support of the R.O.T.C. was the award of "Distinguished College" rating by the War Department in 1923.
- Gene M. Lyons and John W. Masland, *Education and Military Leadership: A Study of the R.O.T.C.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 43. For Daly biographical material, see "Daly, Major B. C., Bio. File," University of Wyoming Archives. *The Laramie Republican Boomerang*, May 1, 1936, and April 28, 1943; *The Branding Iron*, April 30, 1936; and *The Wyoming Alumnews*, June 1946. U.W. President Aven Nelson wrote to Senator John B. Kendrick on May 5, 1922 that, "We value our R.O.T.C. unit highly and would deplore any curtailment of its activities or of its ability to function as an effective unit of the national defense." And furthermore, Nelson observed, "we have particularly valued Captain Daly as a member of this faculty, because of the admirable way in which he fits into this University community. . ." Daly Bio. File, U.W. Archives. See Nelson to Daly, August 14, 1922, U.W. Archives.
- Survey of Land Grant Colleges and Universities*, U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin No. 9 (1930), p. 309. Percentages are based on University of Wyoming R.O.T.C. enrollment statistics, 1921-1929. R.O.T.C. Enrollment, 1921-1936 (From Daly ". . . Historical sketch of the Military Department . . .")

Year	Basic Course (Compulsory)	Advanced Course (Elective)
1921-1922	117	21
1922-1923	146	13
1923-1924	195	13
1924-1925	220	31
1925-1926	252	39
1926-1927	279	37
1927-1928	325	29
1928-1929	337	36
1929-1930	301	36
1930-1931	344	42
1931-1932	341	50

- Ronald Schaffer, "The War Department's Defense of R.O.T.C., 1920-1940," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* LII (1969-1970): 69. Also, James E. Pollard, *Military Training in the Land-Grant Colleges: With Special Reference to the R.O.T.C. Program* (The Ohio State University, N.D.).
- The Branding Iron*, November 5, 1925. See also, "Alumni Are Amazed by U.W. Gains," *The Laramie Boomerang*, January 27, 1927. Five members of the House of Representatives visited the campus and made complimentary remarks regarding Daly and the R.O.T.C.
- The C.M.E. was formed in New York in 1925 by individuals alarmed by what they viewed as a military mentality being formed in American society by the R.O.T.C. presence on college campuses.
- John Nevin Sayre, "The Atlas of Freedom," *The World Tomorrow*, (October 1926): 156-159; and "Watch Dogs," *The New Student*, vol. 6, no. 13, January 5, 1926. Daly retained in his files a typescript entitled "Information pertaining to the League for Industrial Democracy," *A Few of the Most Active Leaders and Lecturers of the L.I.D.* which labeled the L.I.D. and John Nevin Sayre as "socialists." Daly Bio. File, U.W. Archives.
- Daly wrote a letter to Oswald Garrison Villard, the author of the article, again refuting the charge that he censured speakers on campus. Daly to Villard, October 3, 1928, P.O.F. See also Daly to Crane, May 28, 1927, P.O.F.
- "What the Blue Menace Means," *Harpers Magazine*, October 1928. The R.O.T.C. came under sustained attack in the 1920s. See U.S.

House of Representatives Committee on Military Affairs, "Abolishment of Compulsory Military Training at Schools and Colleges," Washington, Government Printing Office, 1926.

24. "Conference of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees and the President's Advisory Committee," April 21, 1926, P.O.F.
25. "Wyoming Enters Conference Ranks," *Wyoming Student*, January 12, 1921.
26. *The Branding Iron*, January 6, 1925.
27. Gossard to members of the Board of Trustees, December 14, 1926, P.O.F. "An Open Letter to the Editor," from Gossard, March 11, 1927, *The Laramie Republican Boomerang*, March 11, 1927. A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 30, 1927, P.O.F.
28. *The Wyoming Eagle*, January 7, 1927, and March 4, 1927.
29. A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 29, 1927, P.O.F.
30. Arnold to A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 30, 1927, P.O.F.
31. *The Wyoming Eagle*, March 4, 1927. Editor-manager Tracy McCracken further reported in a letter to Crane that Laury, a Gossard "lieutenant" had cornered G. Ward Goodrich, a University graduate and member of the legislature from Platte County, and said some, "none too complimentary things" about Crane. P.O.F. Gossard allegedly characterized the campus as "a sink of vice and iniquity . . ." Arnold to A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 30, 1927, p. 12.
32. *The Branding Iron*, April 8, 1926.
33. Thurman Arnold to A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 30, 1927, P.O.F. As mayor of Laramie, 1922-1924, Arnold put the onus of violating prohibition on the purchaser as well as the bootlegger. His biographer, Gene Gressley observes that, "For Laramie's elite this represented a unique and uncomfortable twist to their consciences." (21) Be that as it may, no zealous enforcement campaign ensued during Arnold's administration. Gene M. Gressley, *Voltaire and the Cowboy, The Letters of Thurman Arnold* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1977).
34. The A.A.U.P. investigated Gossard's dismissal upon his request since he believed he had been terminated without cause. See Fling to A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 30, 1927, P.O.F.
35. *The Branding Iron*, April 8, 1926. See Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil*, pp. 148, 152.
36. Knight to A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 30, 1927, p. 30, P.O.F. and the President's Report to the Board of Trustees, 1926. Professor Gilbert related an incident when the head football coach allegedly "knocked a bootlegger down the stairs" at a restaurant in Ogden, Utah. A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 30, 1927.
37. Daly to Crane, May 28, 1927, Daly Papers, U.W. Archives. Daly asserted that "no speaker was excluded from this campus on account of 'liberal' or 'anti-military' views . . ."
38. Elliott to A.A.U.P. Investigating Committee, May 29, 1927, P.O.F.
39. *The Branding Iron*, March 23, 1926.
40. Crane corresponded at length and made a personal visit to the Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis in late 1928 hoping to retain Daly as commandant at U.W. after a War Department decision to replace retired officers with commissioned officers in 1927. Crane to Davis, November 30, 1928, Daly Bio. File, U.W. Archives. See also C. B. Robbins (Acting Secretary of War) to Crane, December 5, 1928.
41. See illustration of 1928 Wyo.
42. *The Branding Iron*, September 22, 1938. Crane's continued support for the R.O.T.C. found widest circulation in his reports as Chairman of the Committee on Military Organization and Policy for the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities. See *Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Annual Convention . . .* Washington, D.C., November 17-19, 1930, pp. 468-69; *Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention . . .* Washington, D.C., November 14-16, 1932; and *Proceedings of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention . . .* Chicago, Illinois, November 13-15, 1933, pp. 239-240.
43. Crane expressed concern for students in the letters he wrote to their parents following a drinking infraction. For example, to J. J. Marshall he wrote, "I am trying to help the boy." Crane to Marshall, May 8, 1926, P.O.F. To illustrate his concern that one indiscretion not mar a student's future, Crane allowed first-time offenders to remain at the University under academic probation. A second offense, however, resulted in the student's expulsion.
44. *The Branding Iron*, November 11, 1983. See Robert Cooley Ingell. *The Campus: A Study of Contemporary Undergraduate Life in the American University* (New York: D. Appleton Company, 1928), pp. 161, 169, 221. University of Wyoming women assumed a more vocal assertiveness in the mid-1920s. See *The Curling Iron* (a special issue of *The Branding Iron*), April 13, 1926.

REMINISCENCES
of a
PIONEER

An Excerpt from
the Diary of
Elias W. Whitcomb

FOREWORD

Elias W. Whitcomb was one of Wyoming's earliest permanent settlers, arriving at Fort Laramie in 1857 and remaining a resident of what would become the Equality State until his death in 1915. Like many young men in the mid-19th century, Whitcomb found the lure of the American West irresistible. It was here that he established himself as an admired, honored and respected member of several Wyoming communities.

Born in Worcester County, Massachusetts in 1833, he appears to have enjoyed the benefits of a good education and a genteel upbringing. By 1857, he had made his way to Westport, Missouri where he signed on to assist in driving an ox team of wagons bearing consumer goods to the ready markets in New Mexico. Until it had been opened to trade with the United States after the Mexican War, provincial New Mexico had only been allowed to trade with the mother country, Spain. The residents were virtually starved for such commodities as cloth, nails, pots, pans, hand tools and other like items.

Whitcomb then made his way to Leavenworth, Kansas, where he embarked for pre-territorial Wyoming. With him was another pioneer, Hiram B. (Hi) Kelly. He was to remain lifelong friends with Kelly, whose personal life and career were in some ways a mirror of Whitcomb's.

The adventurous pair transported goods of merchandise and herds of work cattle to Fort Laramie and arrived in November of 1857. Whitcomb then entered the employ of the famed Russell, Majors and Waddell who were transcontinental freighters, stage line owners and reckless entrepreneurs. His main responsibility was the care of about 1,200 work cattle pastured along Sybille, Chug, Horse and Bear Creeks. It should be remembered that these were oxen, not the blooded Herefords that would be introduced to Wyoming some years later. Still, this was the beginning of the livestock industry in a state that was to become famous for its cattle ranching image.

The young capitalist also set to work establishing himself as a trader. He prospered in this endeavor and eventually founded one of the largest mercantile businesses in Cheyenne—the Whitcomb and Cowgill Dry Goods store. The firm's financial success insured Whitcomb's reputation as a shrewd businessman.

Concurrent with his career as a merchant prince, Whitcomb was devoting much of his time and energy to the introduction of feed cattle to Wyoming. He launched his ranching enterprise in 1866, the first year Texans began driving cattle north. Needing a good base of operation, he made a homestead entry on some land near Crow Creek, seven miles from Cheyenne. In doing this, he became one of the first independent landowners in Wyoming.

Apparently, Whitcomb had a marvelous sense of timing as well as astute business sense. When the livestock boom of the 1880s was at its peak, he sold a majority of his holdings to the Swan Land and Cattle Company for a quarter of a million dollars. This was no mean sum in that decade of the 19th century. Unfortunately his peers Alexander Swan and Hi Kelly were not so canny. The blizzard of 1886-1887 spelled ruin for them. They, along with other ranchers in the area, were bankrupted by that tragic phenomenon.

Whitcomb had made time to marry and establish a family. On February 15, 1865, he took as his bride, Katherine Shaw, the daughter of a Scottish trader and Sioux woman. It is said to have taken Kate Shaw some time to adjust to her white husband's ways, and at one time left Whitcomb in Cheyenne to return to her tribe in the Fort Laramie area. The distraught man hired a tutor and eventually his wife became reconciled to the social amenities and customs of the territorial capital. She dressed in the most fashionable attire and was said to be a particularly gracious and competent hostess.

The Whitcombs built an impressive frame home on present day Carey Avenue in Cheyenne. Originally named Ferguson for a Union Pacific surveyor, its soubriquet was "Cattlemen's Row." The street boasted the homes of such early day luminaries as Joseph Maul Carey, Max Idelman, David D. Dare, Henry Hay, Luke Voorhees and Whitcomb's old friend Hi Kelly.

It is interesting to note that Kelly's life had paralleled Whitcomb's to a degree. He married Elizabeth Richard, the half Sioux daughter of a Fort Laramie trader who, like Kate Shaw Whitcomb, was a respected member of early Wyoming Society. He built an impressive Victorian house on Ferguson, across the way from the Whitcombs and enter-



Elias Whitcomb, in long beard with his parents and Wilson Whitcomb.

tained with elegance and grace. His business investments, however, had not been as perspicacious and diverse as Whitcomb's and the blizzard of 1886-1887 was probably his financial end. Kelly never altogether recovered his fortune and he became one of the statistics produced by the storm and by cattle ranching short-sightedness of the late 1800s.

Whitcomb continued to prosper and eventually had fair sized holdings in the Devils Tower and Belle Fourche area of northeastern Wyoming. He lived to his 80s and was killed by lightning while riding a favored horse, "Ship Wheel" at his Devils Tower ranch. To the end, he was respected in all areas and it was said, an exceptionally fine figure on horseback.

The following article is from a typed transcript of part of a diary left by Whitcomb. The transcript is in the Works Progress Administration Collection compiled in the Depression of the 1930s. The total material was gathered for the purpose of publishing *Wyoming, A Guide to Its History, Highways and People*. As indicated in the title, the original document was made available for copy in 1906 when Whitcomb was still alive. The location and final disposition of the original diary is not known. A hand written and dated note attached to the WPA transcript asks the tantalizing question, "Where is the original—2/13/39." One can only concur.

Any irregularities in spelling and punctuation in this article are as found in the original transcript.

REMINISCENCES of a PIONEER 1857-1869

As Given by Mr. Whitcomb to His Daughter, Mrs. E. J. Rivenburg

Moorcroft, Wyoming, in 1906

I left Westport, Missouri, the middle of May, 1857, having entered the employ of Childs Brothers to drive an ox team to the then unknown region of New Mexico. We went as far as Las Vegas, the trip covering from May until the last of August. Our train contained about twenty wagons and twenty-three men. Wages were very low that season, being about twenty dollars per month. Buffalo covered the plains, myriads of them; old hands along with the train said they had never seen them in such numbers before. We were obliged to send men ahead of the train to clear the track. We estimated that at a single view we could see a hundred thousand; also saw a white one, which is highly prized by the Indians. They called it the Medicine Buffalo; and would have willingly given a horse for the hide.

We met a good many Indians, principally Comanches, on the Arkansas River, where they were waiting to receive ammunition from the Government, and having waited for some time were impatient and threatened to take us in on our return trip. They had with them a Mexican interpreter who had been stolen when a child, and who conversed with us.

Upon our return, however, we saw but few Indians. I imagine that they feared us, as three trains traveling together usually deterred them. The Cheyennes were very troublesome and Colonel Sumner's command was sent out to quell them. A few days before we returned, they had attacked a small train and killed all on board. We found four of the dead, and one still living with seven arrows sticking in him and he was completely scalped.

We returned to Leavenworth, Kansas, and one little

incident will indicate as to whether we enjoyed ourselves on these trips. Upon leaving Westport, in May, I purchased a pair of shoes and a pair of boots, which I expected to wear me the round trip. Some of the boys offered to bet me a new hat that I would be obliged to purchase a new pair before the trip was completed. I insisted that I would buy no footwear during the trip. We had been on the road but a short time when one of the boys wished to borrow my boots because his were giving him trouble. We were making a night drive, and he found that mine hurt his feet as much as his own; therefore, he took them off and threw them on the load and some time later one was lost. By this time my shoes were worn out; consequently, to keep my word and win the hat, I concluded to walk. From Fort Union, New Mexico, behold me walking barefooted to Leavenworth, Kansas, over prickly pear, stopping every little while to pull a bunch of them from my pedal extremities, which became so toughened that the knocking off of a toenail on a stone ceased to trouble me. I am glad to state that I got the hat, although the price was a thousand-mile barefooted walk.

Upon arriving at Leavenworth, which was at that time a military post and general western outfitting point, we loaded with freight for Fort Laramie. That fall was an extremely rainy one and our progress on the road was necessarily very slow. When out about three days we were overtaken by a mule train bound for Salt Lake. They very gaily bade us goodbye, saying as they passed that they would see us on their return in the spring. We plodded on over the rough trails and on the 7th of November arrived at Fort



AMH PHOTO

Fort Laramie, where Whitcomb wintered in 1857. While remote and isolated, it offered shelter and some of the niceties of civilization.

Laramie with our cattle in rather poor condition, but having proved their superior endurance to the mule outfit, which we passed on the road. The mules were completely worn out when some three weeks later they arrived at the Fort. I neglected to mention that my friend, Mr. H. B. Kelly, was with the mule train.

We went into camp on Bear Creek. In a few days there came a very heavy fall of snow and when we awoke in the morning our blankets were entirely covered. The weather turned bitterly cold, followed by the deepest snow and coldest weather of the winter of 1857. We lost about twenty head of our best cattle, which were very thin when we arrived and consequently were unable to endure the severity of the weather, although those that pulled through until spring made very good beef.

At this time there were no white settlers, excepting at the few trading posts on the old California emigrant route. Our intercourse and correspondence with our friends at home were very limited, there being but a monthly mail. When the papers arrived they were read and re-read with eager interest until they were completely worn out. We lived, during the winter, at Fort Laramie among the Indians, of whom there were large numbers, all friendly. On April 28, 1858, we received orders to load and pull for Fort Douglas, Utah. Our orders came earlier than we expected owing to the anticipated Mormon troubles. We started three trains under Colonel Hoffman's command with sup-

plies for Johnston's command and arrived at La Bonte Creek May 2nd, where we encountered a heavy snow fall two feet deep, the deepest and dampest I have ever seen in the territory at one time. We laid up one day on account of the storm, but on the second day Colonel Hoffman, because of his anxiety to reach our destination, gave orders for us to proceed on our way regardless of the condition of the roads. Our wagonmaster seriously objected to attempting to carry out this order and seriously remonstrated with the Colonel, but to no avail. The warm weather was melting the snow so rapidly that even the sand hollows were filled, while the small creeks were swollen to the size of rivers. The little creek of Wagon Hound, whose bed is perfectly dry in the summer, was so swollen that in undertaking to ford it with a four-mule ambulance all the animals were drowned. The roads were in terrible condition, the wagons making only one and one-half miles a day, and it was not necessary to corral the remainder of the animals at night. The colonel, seeing that we could make but little headway, allowed the wagon boss to use his own judgment, stating that he guessed he understood the conditions better than he, so we layed over another day while the colonel pushed on, leaving a company of soldiers as escort and for protection against the Mormons.

We reached Fort Douglas safely in June, not being molested by the Mormons, with whom the Government had concluded a settlement.

We immediately returned to Leavenworth, reaching there in August, and "loaded out" for Fort Laramie. On this, my second trip, I was in the employ of Majors, Russell and Waddell, the largest Government freighting contractors in the United States.

I passed the second winter in Fort Laramie in about the same manner as the previous one. The following summer, I was still in the employ of the same company and during the inter of 1859 was placed in charge of all work cattle, having about twelve hundred head scattered up and down the creeks (Sybille, Horse, Chug and Bear Creeks). It must be bourn in mind that at this time there were no cattle in the country excepting work cattle and a few to supply the trains with beef. The immense herds that later came to this country were driven in from the south or east after 1864 and 1865. In those days three men were allowed to each herd, composed of three hundred head, and the herding was done on foot, although we usually had a mule in camp which was owned by the wagonmaster; consequently, the cowmen had to walk.

One incident of that winter is still very fresh in my memory. Some of our cattle had strayed away. Taking a Mexican with me, I started out to hunt them. The day was fine and we left without taking our overcoats. Gloves were too expensive a luxury for us, as the common buckskin gloves were five dollars a pair. We discovered the trail of the cattle and overtook them on the evening of the second day. By this time the weather had changed and a heavy snow storm followed. We turned the cattle toward the camp and at dark camped for the night without fire or food. We were busy most of the night "holding" the cattle. The next day the storm had not abated and it turned bitterly cold. The Mexican kicked some snow away, dug a hole in the ground with his knife and we cuddled into it, covering ourselves with one saddle blanket, and prepared to pass the night. On awakening, we found that the cattle had vamoosed. We were hungry and tired, a long way from home, and our hands and feet were frozen. The only thing to do was to get to camp and grub as soon as possible. Fighting every inch of the way through the storm, we arrived at camp at midnight, having been four days and three nights without food or very little rest.

With the exception of the storm just mentioned, we had a very fine winter. Antelope were very numerous. One could go out in any direction and see from a dozen to five hundred in a band. Our principal meat was antelope and deer.

During the summer of 1859 there was quite a heavy emigration, whose destination on leaving the East was California, Oregon or Washington, but having changed their minds, they went up the Chug, crossing Pole Creek near Larman's ranch close to Fort Walbach (a military post which was established in 1858 and abandoned the year following), thence crossing Crow Creek about sixteen miles above the present site of Cheyenne and thence to Denver.

This season the mails were changed from monthly to semi-monthly and we considered ourselves the most favored of mortals.

At this time, I severed my connection with the freighting company and entered the trading business, on my own account, with the emigrants, whose numbers were increasing and most of whom were Mormons. Some of these Mormon trains were composed of hand carts, a fifty mule-team to carry the heavier articles. Many of these emigrant trains had with them large numbers of cattle, some of which were fine bred, these being the original bunches from which sprung our fine vast herds which have since made this a famous cattle country.

" . . . the noted Alfred Slade came into the country . . . During the winter he began to evince the demoniacal disposition which finally brought him to the gallows."

The fall of 1860 is memorable as the time that the noted Alfred Slade came in to the country as Division Superintendent of Mail Lines, his division extending from Julesburg to Salt Lake. We then received our mail every week. During the winter he began to evince the demoniacal disposition which finally brought him to the gallows. The first display of it was the murder of a teamster who refused to obey an order he was given.

In the spring of 1861, a tri-weekly mail was established and in the fall of the same year a daily mail and pony express was established, the stations being about twelve miles apart. Each rider was required to make about fifty miles a day.

A desparate affair occurred that winter at Slade's instigation. A Mexican and an American who were in the employ of the United States Mail Service had a quarrel at La Bonte's ranch, during which the Mexican killed the American and then escaped to the road ranch of John Sarah, located on the Bitter Cottonwood. Slade sent word to Sarah to order the Mexican away. Sarah replied that he was keeping a road ranch and did not propose to send any person away who paid for his entertainment. Again Slade advised Sarah to get rid of the Mexican, but to no purpose. In a few nights as coach load of Mail Agents drove up to Sarah's door. Calling him out, they began shooting. They killed Sarah, his wife (an Indian woman), an Indian who was visiting Sarah, and an old Frenchman by the name of Lonnel. A man named Winters, who was a guest, made

his escape, ran all the way to Fort Laramie, a distance of twenty-five miles, and reported the story of the massacre to the military authorities. Immediate reparation was demanded, but without avail, as no effort whatever was made to apprehend the murderers.

Sarah's family consisted of four children, whose ages were respectively twelve, eight, five, and a baby a few months old. The two eldest were girls and so was the baby. The eldest girl, with the baby on her back, and the other sister by her side, climbed out of a rear window, escaping to the prairie. A few weeks later, the poor unfortunates' remains were found where they died of exposure. The boy, who got separated from his sister after the affair, was found by the men in the coach and taken to the stage station. He was finally adopted by Slade and was taken with him when he left the country. After Slade was hanged at Virginia City, Montana, Mrs. Slade brought the boy, who was about thirteen years old, to Denver, and that was the last I heard of him.

In the spring of 1861, I went to Horse Shoe Creek to live (Slade's headquarters). The mail employees carried things pretty high. Two Men, E. Coffee and Cuney, who had a ranch about nine miles from Fort Laramie, and Frank McCarty, an employee of the mail company, had gone down from Slade's to Coffee's, and, being intoxicated, became very boisterous and abusive, shooting holes through many of the decorations hanging on the walls of the road ranch. McCarty fancied he had some grievance with Coffee and proceeded to square it by shooting Coffee's father. The bullet struck the old man back of the ear and ran around the scalp. The old man fell on his face, and McCarty remarked casually that he guessed the old no account wasn't hurt much, and sprang into the coach and rode to the Post, where he fired a shot or two at the Stars and Stripes at the Sutler's store, calling it "Uncle Sam's handerchief". He departed without being molested by the sworn guardians of our flag. The commanding officer came out after McCarty was at a safe distance, and ordered the guard to arrest him if they could find him. This indicates to a small degree the laxity of the military and the lawless character of some of the civilians, especially the average employee of the stage company.

Sometimes the drivers of the coaches, when on a spree, would take fiendish delight in scaring the passengers by tying the lines to the lamp post, putting the whip to the horses until they were going at breakneck speed up and down hill, bumping across gulches, while the passengers were fighting to hold to their seats and stay in the coach.

So far as my personal experiences with Slade were concerned, I found him a good neighbor, he being one of those characters who, if he takes a liking to you, would do anything in his power for you, but on the other hand, if he had formed a dislike for you, and he should happen to be under the influence of liquor, you were sure to have

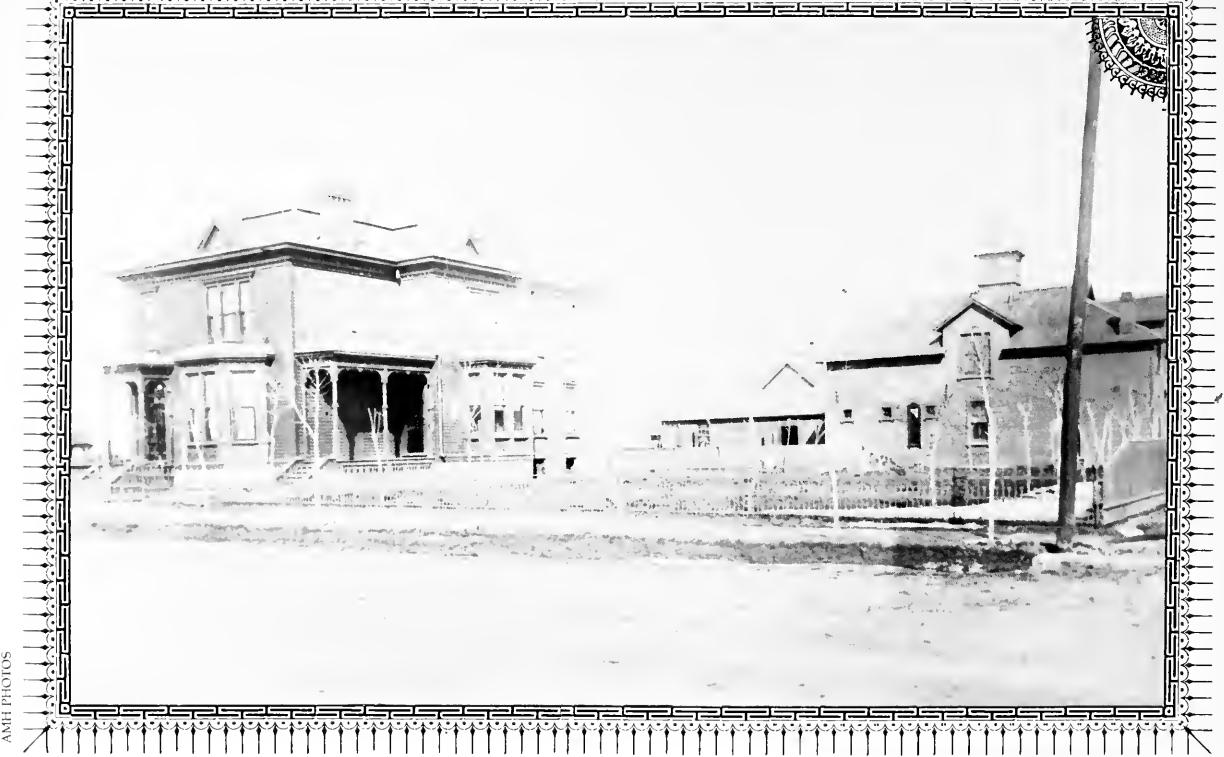
trouble with him.

At this time, I was running a trading store, having a stock of groceries, liquors, and a few articles of clothing. Slade often came to my place to play cards and sometimes imbibed too freely; consequently, Mrs. Slade conceived the idea of getting me out of the way, for she thought that if Slade had to go farther for his whisky she would have fewer quarrels with him. At this time, Slade had gone to Julesburg, so the men were left in care of the station and had full sway. Therefore they proceeded to get on a glorious drunk, and when in this condition, at Mrs. Slade's suggestion, they proposed to clean me out. McCarty, with eight or ten liquor-crazed men, started to carry out her designs. One of the men, however, got away and immediately warned me of my danger. This man, and also one in my employ were terribly frightened and they besought me to fly. The former was afraid of his comrades, the latter for his life. We threw our overcoats over our arms and struck for the brush.

My house was burned to the ground, I thus losing all of my earthly possessions, excepting a few horses and cattle which were grazing up the creek about twenty-five miles. We walked about ten miles that night and crawled into a thicket of cherry bushes and, with our overcoats over us, lay down to sleep. In the morning our covering was six inches thicker, for snow had fallen during the night. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the day following, we arrived at my camp on Bitter Cottonwood. I was not ready to begin life again after having lost about four thousand dollars—a sum which in those days was considered large. All that was saved of the stock at the trading store was two half barrels of whisky and so the head of one barrel was knocked in and a cup hung on it and every person was obliged to drink. The other was emptied into the well, for the boys declared that they meant to have a never failing supply.

"She was forced to arm herself with a pistol, and going to the barrel of whiskey, upset it threatening to shoot the first man who approached her."

By this time some forty men were assembled about the station drinking, carousing, and, in fact, ready for any wild or bloody work, so when it was suggested to burn the station, one drunken brute seized a fire brand and started for the hay stacks, which were connected with the stables and other outbuildings. The telegraph lines had been erected that fall by Ed Creighton, and Mrs. Slade, who was by this time badly scared, wired Slade the condition of affairs, ask-

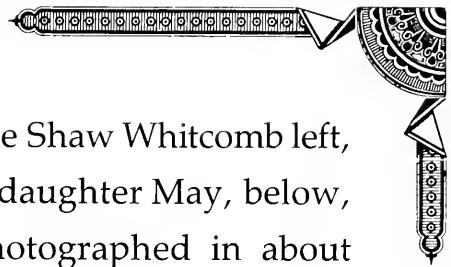


AMH PHOTOS

Some years after his adventures in the Fort Laramie area, Whitcomb built an impressive mansion on Cattleman's Row in Cheyenne. At one time, a whale skeleton in the yard amused neighborhood children.

Whitcomb with son Hal, on the left and granddaughter Marjorie Badgette on the right.





Katherine Shaw Whitcomb left, and her daughter May, below, were photographed in about 1875 in their elegant Victorian attire. The Whitcomb Family enjoyed a gracious lifestyle thanks to Elias' success in business.



AMH PHOTOS



ing him to make all possible haste in returning, as they had burned me out and were about to fire the station. She was forced to arm herself with a pistol, and going to the barrel of whiskey, upset it, threatening to shoot the first man who approached her. This determined action on her part immediately put a damper on the enthusiasm of the men.

Slade did not return until the boys recovered from their spree. McCarty, their leader, was much alarmed at what they had done and threatened to kill Slade. Indeed, for several days, he met every coach armed with a shotgun, expecting to kill him as he got off. When the boys became sober, they were extremely penitent. McCarty promised me that thereafter all the money he could scrape together would be paid to me until I recovered my losses. My books and accounts being destroyed in the fire, and as the men were only paid once or twice a year, they forgot their promises. Consequently, I received very little money from them.

" . . . the same gang of men under the leadership of McCarty committed another depredation at Mud Spring, . . . "

I was in debt to the sutler for about one thousand dollars for supplies. I offered him what stock I had left, but he refused, stating that I could make more by keeping them than he, and that I could pay the debt when I was in better circumstances. By the next June, I had cleared off this debt and had something to the good.

When Slade arrived and heard of the treatment I had received from his men, he was very indignant. He sent for me and talked the matter over. As a result, he discharged every man who was implicated in the affair and offered to help me in any way he could. I prevailed upon him to withdraw his order to discharge the men, as I considered their discharge would do me no good and do them much harm. Therefore, he retained them in his employ on condition that in the future they be on their good behavior. Slade never knew of his wife's agency in the affair unless she acknowledged it.

That winter the same gang of men under the leadership of McCarty committed another depredation at Mud Springs, the first station out of Julesburg. Two freighters, with wagons loaded with whisky for supplying the ranches and trading stores along the route, had gone into camp at Mud Springs. The boys struck Mud Springs, the camp, and after drinking pretty freely were ready for action. They first drove the men from camp, cutting the spokes of the wheels to prevent the wagons from being moved. The freighters had gone for another wagon and while they were absent, they stole and secreted all the liquor.

To show what desperate and daring men many of these stage drivers were, I will relate a little incident that came under my observation. Bob Walker, a driver, coming into Horse Creek Station, found that the team he was to drive had strayed and could not be found. There were six wild bronchos at the station and he ordered them hitched to the coach. When they were harnessed, he climbed to the seat and shouted, "Let 'em go." The men sprang out of the road and he laid on the whip and the bronchos bounded off on the run. They ran the entire distance to Scott's Bluff. On their arrival, they were well broken to harness. Fortunately, there were no passengers aboard.

The eastern stopping point of Slade's division was Julesburg. At this place there was a road station kept by a Frenchman named Jules for whom the station was named. Slade and Jules had some difficulty regarding stock, but had arrived at an understanding which Slade supposed was settled amicably. The boys were then in the habit of playing cards for canned fruits, oysters and other supplies, it being the only way they had of getting them. The next time Slade came down he proposed a game for the oysters. Just as he stepped to the door, "Jule" leveled a double barrel shotgun at him and fired. Slade fell and Jule, supposing he had killed him, said, "there are some blankets and a box, you can make him a coffin if you like." Strange to say, Slade was not dead, and after he revived a little was taken to Denver for medical treatment. Jule was so afraid of being shot or hanged, that he fled that night.

Jule had a man at Wagon Hound Creek trading with emigrants, and the next summer he went up to see him. Crossing to the north side of the Platte River, he came down the river until opposite Cold Springs station, kept by a Frenchman named Shosaix. Crossing the river again, he stopped at the station, where Slade had three men watching for Jule. They were mounted on mules and Jule, being suspicious, counted his horse and rode away. Overhearing the men ask Shosaix if he had seen any mules, he was thrown off his guard, returned and dismounted. Instantly, he was covered with shotguns and ordered to surrender. He started to run and was shot in the hip and relieved of his gun; then he crawled into a hole back of the house, was followed and compelled to surrender. He was bound hand and foot, and a courier was sent to get Slade. When Slade arrived he talked to him awhile, stating that he could kill him if he chose, Jule all the time begging for his miserable life and a chance to see his wife. But Slade replied, "when you shot me, you gave me no chance to see my wife, brutally trying to murder me without any chance to defend myself, so now, take your medicine." Jules was ordered to stand up against a post, and Slade told him that he was going to see how near he could shoot without hitting him. Slade fired several shots which grazed his hair and struck on either side of his head. Finally, he told him he would wound him, and

shot him in the mouth. He fell, and Slade ordered him to get up, saying he was not dead and if he did not rise, he would cut off his ears. Jules finally rose and Slade, after cruelly tantalizing him a little longer, remarked, "now I am going to give you a center shot, so hold still", and shot him between the eyes. Jules fell dead and Slade cut off his ears, and at the same time said to the boys, "you needn't get any blankets or box for him, just dig a hole and chuck him in, as you would a dog." Slade carried the ears with him for several days, asking those he met if they would like some "souse".

In the summer of 1862, the mail route was changed from the North Platte to the South Platte and run by the way of Denver. The men and stock were moved to the new route and Slade established himself in the northern part of Colorado, in the foothills, and named the place Virginia Dale. In the spring of 1865, Slade left Virginia Dale and went to Virginia City, Montana, where he spent most of his time drinking and gambling. One day, having brutally pounded a man, he rode his horse into the Court House and adjourned court by firing his pistol promiscuously, escaping to his home, which was several miles out of town. The citizens were so incensed by this affair that they ordered a strict watch kept for him and when he came back a few days later he was captured and hanged. He begged for his life, asked to see his wife, and promised if they would let him go he would leave the country in any manner—on foot, horseback, or by wagon, but all to no purpose. Thus ended the life of one of the most desperate men of that or any other time.

The next year, the Indians began to be troublesome, running off stock and committing numerous depredations. I had a band of seventeen horses running on the range near my place, one of which I had in use. The rest were all stolen by the Indians, causing me a loss of fifteen hundred dollars. In 1865, they became very hostile, running off a large number of stock and killing several emigrants. They also stole eight hundred head of cattle belonging to Ed Creighton from his range on Mud Creek.

I spent the winter of 1864 on the Sybille, and in the spring of 1865, moved to Fort Halleck. The Indians were becoming more and more troublesome and finally killed five soldiers who were guarding the mail line at Piney Station. Captain Umperville and their remains brought to the Post for burial. They killed a sergeant at Medicine Bow, where they had a squad of ten or twelve soldiers on guard.

They also attacked a government train loaded with bacon, escorted by a small squad of cavalry. On the appearance of the Indians, the soldiers deserted the teamster, whom the Indians bound to the wheel with halter chains, and then fired the outfit.

A couple of men named Bob Foote and Ekler had settled on a little creek north of Rock Creek, and had become alarmed at the hostility of the Indians, and joined an emigrant train en route to Fort Halleck. They were attacked

by a large band of Indians, and but for the bravery of Foote, the whole party would have been massacred. The emigrants were very much excited and wanted to fly. Foote persuaded them to corral the stock inside the wagon circle and in this manner attempt to defend themselves. They succeeded repulsing the Indians, but not until they had cut off one wagon containing a woman and several children. They scalped the woman, cut her into pieces, and carried off the children, one a little girl of ten, to captivity.

The officers at Fort Halleck had a colored servant who one day attacked a young white girl. He tried to make his escape, but was overtaken and killed by the soldiers, who skinned him and tacked the hide on the side of the hospital, where it remained the rest of the summer.

Another little incident will serve to illustrate how the monotony of our lives was varied. A man named Russel, keeper of a boarding house near Fort Halleck, had trouble with a man named Jennings. Jennings lay in ambush for Russel and shot him from a thicket as he was getting on the stage and then made his escape. His capture was effected by a man disguised as an Arapahoe Indian, accompanied by several members of the above tribe. He was tried by court martial and condemned to be hanged. At the Post was a rude apparatus used for weighing articles of merchandise, simply a forked stick set in the ground with a long pine pole used as a lever. In this instance the pole was eighty feet in length, weighted at the butt end with log chains; and fastened to the other end was a rope forty feet long, the end of which was looped around Jennings' neck. He was asked if he wished to say anything. He defiantly replied that if he had the same opportunity, he would improve it in the same manner, then hurrahed for Jeff Davis and the Confederacy. The officer instantly gave the signal. The heavily weighted pole sprang up with such force that Jennings' body was thrown the entire length of the rope, breaking his neck.

"The Indians took all the sugar and coffee and scattered the rest over the ground. My potatoes were frozen and my cattle scattered . . . the potatoes would have brought me twenty-five cents a pound at Fort Laramie."

In the fall of 1865, I moved to the Cache La Poudre, wintering there, and made my first venture in Texas cattle.

Potatoes were scarce and I bought twelve thousand pounds at seven cents in the cellar, and, having six four-yoke teams, took the to Fort Laramie and hauled wood for the Government at ten dollars per day while there.

The spring of 1866 was about the first season they commenced to drive the Texas cattle north, and quite a number were brought in that year. We came by way of Chalk Bluffs to Pole Creek. The train was met by Indians, and the men deserted the outfit which was loaded with coffee, flour, beans, sugar and bacon, as winter supplies for the men, besides the twelve thousand pounds of potatoes. The Indians took all the sugar and coffee and scattered the rest over the ground. My potatoes were frozen and my cattle scattered. It took me ten days to recover the cattle and wagons, but I lost the stock of provisions and my entire winter's work. The potatoes would have brought me twenty-five cents a pound at Fort Laramie.

In 1866 and 1867 the Indians were very troublesome, raiding through the country. Texas cattle began to come in large numbers. I was so afraid of losing horses by the Indians that I kept but seven, and they were later taken by the Indians.

In 1868, the Indians became worse than ever. They made several raids, stole about twelve head of horses and ran off a bunch of cattle. We found where they had butchered them and taken them away to dry.

In the spring, I ordered a couple of men up into the canyon to cut some poles, giving each a horse and instructing them to carry their guns to protect themselves against the Indians. They had completed loading the poles and were ready to return, when one of the men decided to go up on a high ridge to reconnoitre. He saw Indians coming and, running back, mounted his horse before letting his companion know they were upon them. Shots were exchanged, but they arrived home safely. In the evening, the oxen came home; one yoke having gone over a bank fifteen feet high, but they were not hurt; however, the other yoke were so badly wounded from lances that they soon after died.

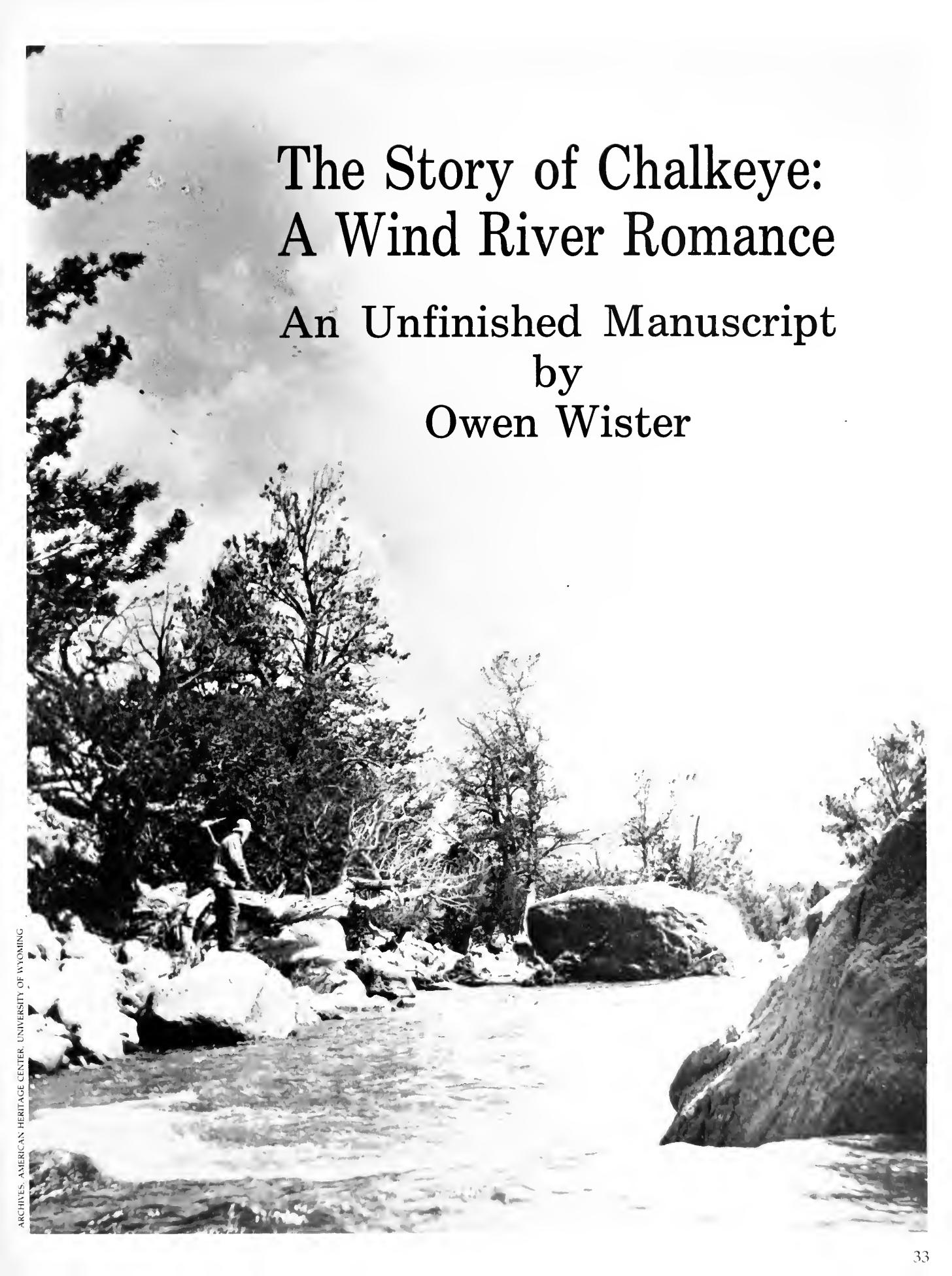
July of the same year, the Indians were so hostile that I left my ranch and went to La Porte, remaining there a month, then deciding it would be safe to return, as the Union Pacific Railroad was then being pushed with great rapidity, Cheyenne having been established, and the force of men being quite large. I arrived at the ranch on the first of August, and the very next day, the Indians made

another raid. We were making hay up the canyon when three men who were quite a distance above us were attacked and followed about three miles. Fearing some harm might befall my family at the ranch, I counted my pony and, accompanied by a man named Rooks, gave chase. The Indians separated, and one, finding that we were pressing him too hard, deserted his mount, taking refuge in a small ravine. We rode to a rise about fifty feet above, and Rooks went on to the head of the canyon, while I jumped around, yelling in true Indian style, trying to induce the red-skin to come out in the open. The first thing I knew, he had me under his gun and I jumped for cover. In the meantime, Rooks, who had a Spencer carbine, was snapping his gun with no results. I inquired the reason, and he replied that it was defective cartridges. I finally heard a sharp report and Rooks, reeling, fell to the ground. I rushed to his aid and found that the blood was streaming from a wound in his shoulder. I aided him to mount his horse and kept my eyes on the place where the Indian had last been seen, but he had disappeared. The bullet had, fortunately, broken no bones, and we rode as quickly as we could to the ranch. On our arrival, Rooks fainted from loss of blood. I bound his arm below the wound as tightly as possible, and the next day a surgeon came along and stated that I had handled the case as well as he could have, had he been present.

In the meantime I had instructed the men to keep watch of the Indians. They reported eighteen in the party, but no further damage was done except the killing of six head of cattle.

On Christmas Eve of the same year, I took my family to La Porte to spend the Holidays, leaving three men to look after a bunch of horses. Two employees of Hook and Moore stopped at the ranch, notifying the men of the theft of a bunch of their horses. Thereafter, it was necessary for my men to keep close watch; consequently, they drove all the stock into the corral and were to watch alternately during the night, but thinking that so recent a theft of the Hook and Moore stock would deter them for a few nights, they concluded to watch only until midnight. In the morning all they found was an empty corral and a pistol dropped, probably, in taking down the bars.

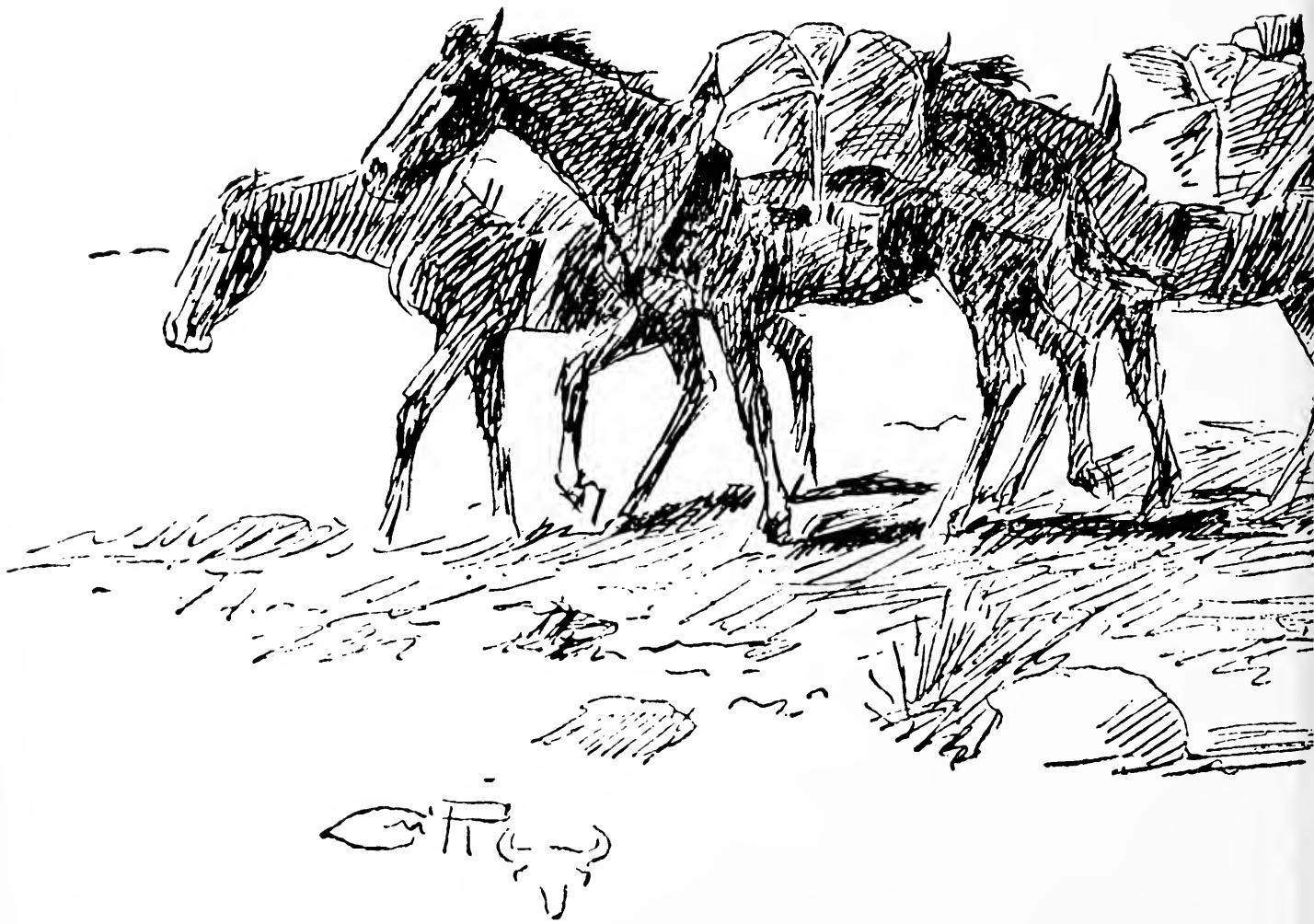
On a note of suspense, the transcript of the Elias Whitcomb diary concludes. The whereabouts of the original document or of any additional transcripts are not known.



The Story of Chalkeye:
A Wind River Romance

An Unfinished Manuscript
by
Owen Wister

“The Virginian Starting off on His Honeymoon” sketch by Charles M. Russell





EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION:

Owen Wister, the celebrated author of *The Virginian*, made his first trip to Wyoming in 1885. On the one-hundredth anniversary of that unexpectedly significant journey, the editorial staff of ANNALS OF WYOMING is pleased to include in this issue, a chapter from an unfinished and previously unpublished manuscript written by Wister. The piece was titled *The Story of Chalkeye: A Wind River Romance*. A notation in Wister's hand is on the title page and states, "This was a first essay—begun in early

1891 and never finished." This incomplete narrative of a Wyoming experience is said to be Owen Wister's first Western story and is considered by the author's daughter, Frances Kemble Wister Stokes, to be, ". . . among the best pages my father ever wrote." Because of Wister's contribution to American literature, the story behind the discovery of his unpublished Chalkeye manuscript and his daughter's desire that these brief passages be shared with the people of Wyoming, a few words of introduction are in order.



Owen Wister near the foothills of the Wind River Mountains

The Chalkeye manuscript is alluded to in *Owen Wister out West, His Journals and Letters*, edited by Mrs. Stokes and published in 1958. From the brief references, the reader gathers that such a manuscript had been written and that Chalkeye the fictional character was based on a real person with whom Wister had become acquainted. At the time of her book's publication, Mrs. Stokes pointed out that no such manuscript had been located in her father's papers.

Frances Stokes' son, John, found the Chalkeye manuscript just before an old family home in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania was pulled down in 1971. She retained it in her personal care until 1980 when she sent it to the University of Wyoming where a major Owen Wister collection has been housed since 1952.

The first two chapters were published in the January-February, 1984 issue of *American West*, but because of lack of space, the editors declined to include the third chapter. They do, however, agree the passages in the last chapter are of the most eloquent descriptive content. Indeed they are. Scant dialogue and a word picture of early morning in northwestern Wyoming combine to provide the reader with an unforgettable impression of that region.

The first two chapters of the unfinished novel are the beginning of what may have been one of Wister's most interesting efforts. Two young men from New York, Livingston and Weeks have spent time hunting in the wilds of Wyoming. In short order, the author points out that they

likely have more money than sensitivity and perception—they have shot and abandoned twenty 600 pound elk, simply because they hadn't pack animals enough to tote away the antlers and skins. The pair does seem earnest and well-meaning, if not cognizant of the fact they are less than conservative, conscientious hunters.

They arrive at Chalkeye's empty cabin with an aging French-Canadian guide named Martin, a packer and a cook. Says Wister of Martin, "His father had been French, his mother a Squaw; both married to other people at the time, which was some sixty years ago, near the Sault-Sainte Marie."

As they are preparing the night's camp, the impetuous young Ludlow Weeks kills Typo, Chalkeye's pet elk calf. As in some crimes of accident, passion or premeditation, the miscreant is more worried about being caught than he is filled with self reproach. Just as he is about to leave Chalkeye some money to compensate for the loss of the pet elk, the chief protagonist returns.

James Hilary, a.k.a. Chalkeye, is the kind of hero one would expect in Wister's first effort. A truly free man, he is tall, lithe and with yellow wavy hair. Fastidious about himself, he appears to shave regularly and sends to St. Louis for expensive grey shirts of fine quality. These attributes make him a butt of jokes among his mountain contemporaries less concerned with personal hygiene.

Hilary takes the loss of his pet with a great deal more

equanimity than the apprehensive Easterners had anticipated. Still, his terse, laconic manner conveys his disdain and contempt for their thoughtlessness. By the chapter's close, they have declined one another's offers to share supper and Chalkeye has retired to the solitude of his small cabin.

Later, Will the packer and Bugbee the cook join Chalkeye for a game of cards. There is friendly banter and the interesting news that Weeks wishes to purchase Chalkeye's property is imparted. Not unexpectedly, he declines to consider a sale. In a short space of time, the three mountain men are joined by the two New Yorkers. Weeks offers fine cigars and liquor all around but Will and Hilary have a bet on to swear off distilled spirits for six months, so Weeks' generosity goes begging.

Weeks does manage to communicate his regret at killing the elk. His honest explanation is that he is simply ignorant of Western and mountain ways. Hilary accepts this rationale and the reader perceives his attitude toward Weeks softening.

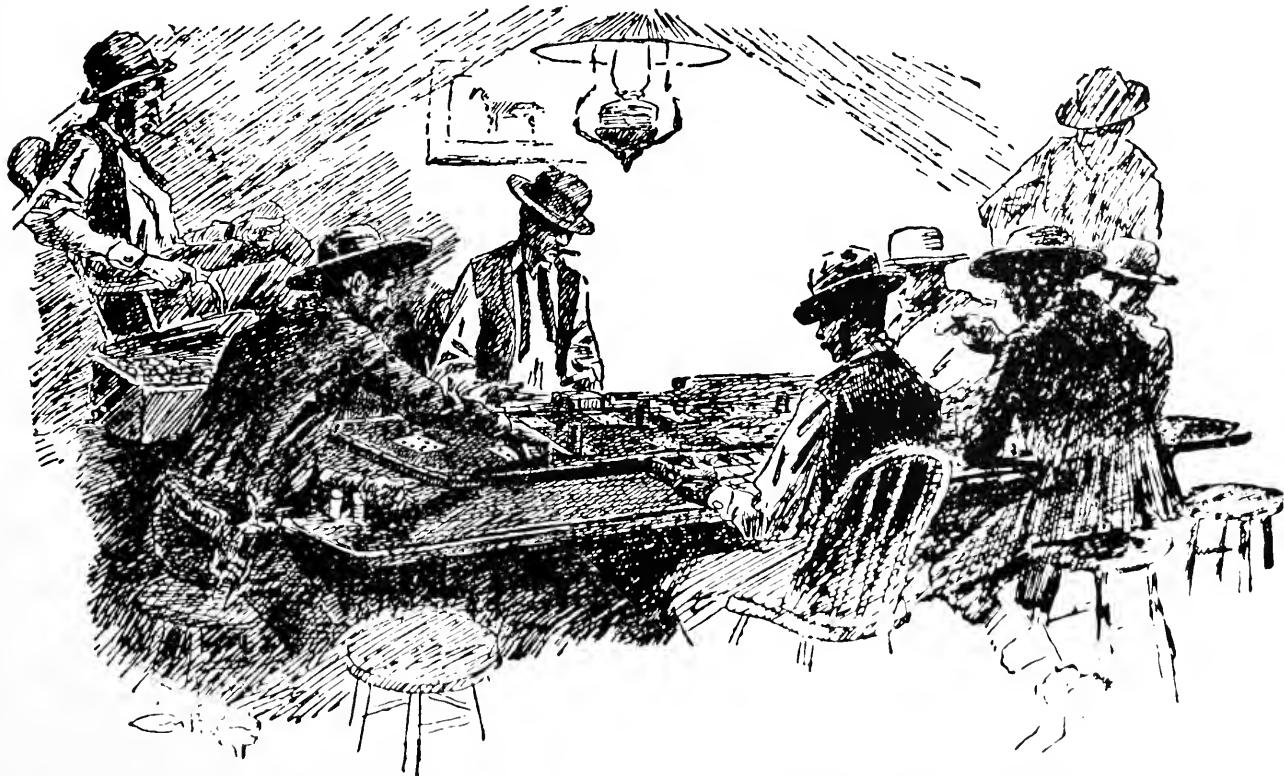
The talk then turns to another tourist well-remembered by the trio of Westerners. They had played reluctant hosts to a puffed up, gratuitous, arrogant know-it-all apothecary from Omaha. The cook sums up the fellow's many character flaws by describing him as, ". . . a very monopolous conversationalist." When the apothecary views the Wyoming residents' ranching and branding practices with contempt, they realize it is time to teach him a lesson. The

man is compelled to strip in front of a crowd of cowboys and Chalkeye paints brands all over his body with rubber cement. The Omaha man is greatly chastened, spends a miserable night trying to scrape the glue off with a knife, but is later directed to a warm spring where he can wash away the adhesive.

The point of this somewhat brutal practical joke is not wasted on Weeks and Livingston, who ask why Western men have such low opinions of their Eastern countrymen. Hilary counters that Western men, cowboys in particular, have been given bad press and that an inaccurate image of them is circulated. He declares them to be unfairly maligned when painted as drunken jail birds, bent on homicide.

In this defense of the Western male, the reader can see the genesis of the character in *The Virginian*. That milestone novel portrays the cowboy as a true gallant—a knight of the range with a strict code of morals and a chivalrous attitude toward women. He is well-bred and courteous of his own accord, and not so trained by civilization.

The conversation between East and West concludes with each more or less defending its own turf and its own philosophy. Hilary condemns the Eastern journalistic establishment. Weeks defends the right of the press people to earn a living and Livingston gives the reading public a kind of credit for being able to discern the truth. The verbal interchange has become so abstract that none involved care to continue. They bid one another good night and are



Sketch by Charles M. Russell from page 29 of *The Virginian*. "Sit quiet," said the dealer, scornfully to the man next to me. "Can't you see he don't want to push trouble?"

off to their respective beds. Wister closes the passage with a particularly lovely description of an autumn night in the Wind Rivers.

Two quotations in this introduction are from the edition of Chalkeye published in the January-February, 1984 issue of *American West*. That issue also contains a fine essay on Owen Wister written by Wallace Stegner. Other information on the manuscript was extracted from correspondence between Mrs. Fanny Kemble Wister Stokes and the editor of *ANNALS OF WYOMING*. An additional source of information has been Mrs. Stokes' book, *Owen Wister out West*. The editorial staff of *ANNALS* wishes to thank Mrs. Stokes for offering the last chapter of the unfinished manuscript for publication in our journal.

CHAPTER III

The slow cold day-break revealed the pasture levels along the river white and numb with frost. Wide apart in the dimness, the lonely figures of horses stood, and from them came a light sound of crunching as they fed on the coated grass. Moving over the stiffened flats went an object, sombre and deliberate, like a shadow. It was old Martin early at his work of hunting the horses. He came upon the trail of two or three that his instinct told him had travelled across the river, and would be feeding up its tributary, Du Noir Creek. He got on the bare back of a cayuse whose turn it had been to be picketed, and with a rope for bridle rode away patiently at a walk, his shape showing plainer in the distance through the continually growing dawn. As pony and rider dwindled across the white stretches of meadow, at camp the fire was brought to life, and its flame shone red and far through the haunting grey. The cook squatted by the blaze, holding close his fingers that the morning chill had made feel thick and useless. As the first comfortable warmth tingled along his nerves, he shivered and shifted round to bring the broadside of his leg and thigh so the fire could play full upon it. Soon his heated overalls stung him deliciously all along where they lay tight over his flesh, and he dived under the tent and ordered the packer out of bed. Will came without remark, parting the tent-flaps and staring out at the wide frost and the hills beyond it and the tinge of crimson that had spread in the clear barren East. They commented with disgust on the approach of Winter as they took their way to the river where its bank was low.

"Feel of the water," the cook exclaimed, quickly scrubbing face and eyes with unclean fingers. "And my boots is hard as rocks."

The packer took his tooth-brush—a veteran instrument—from his waistcoat pocket, blew some flakes of tobacco off the bristles, and dipped it in the stream.

"They'll be needing hot water this morning," he observed, jerking his thumb towards the closed and silent tent wherein lay Weeks and Livingston.

The two men, kneeling with the pail and coffee-pots, dragged them through the water, shook rinsed & filled them, & coming to the camp set them against the fire, whose flames now paled away as the crimson in the East turned to a golden pink & crossed the sky. Not alone from behind the ragged peaks where the sun would presently appear did this transparent color come; it exhaled from the entire firmament. Underneath it, the huge bare country east of the Divide, the empty stretches of waste, the treeless desolate mounds, the bald river-bluffs, all shone with an unearthly iridescence.

"That's good!" commented Bugbee, looking up from his frying-pans to gaze across the river. "We'll get an early start."

He referred to old Martin, who had come into sight over a knuckle of ground from the Du Noir Valley beyond, and was driving the stray horses in.

"He's found 'em quick this time," said the packer, grating some chocolate. Mr. Weeks had intimated before retiring that the camp should indulge in this occasional luxury at breakfast. The men paused in their preparations and idly watched Martin and his horses. The group was still distant; many acres of sage-brush and willow thickets lay between it and camp; but in the clear air there was only dwindling of size, and no blur or merging of outlines. The cook could follow the twinkling legs of the ponies as they slouched along, and see how Martin's moccasined heel in Indian fashion continually kicked the beast he rode. Each movement of the miniature figures could be detected with the same clean-cut accuracy as if they were but a few feet away and being looked at through the wrong end of an opera-glass.

"Lucky Romeo didn't pull out fur his own range last night and take the whole outfit after him," said the packer, resuming his work on the chocolate.

"Romeo aint familiar this high up the river. He would tonight, though, anywhere below Jakey's Fork. So we'll hopple him, I guess." It matters nothing what plenty there may be of pasture where a camp is pitched. There are among the horses invariably several vagrant-minded animals who go gently away through the night, cropping the grass as they wander. Morning will often find them drifting along three miles off, perhaps with a hill or a lake between themselves and duty, still at their desultory and irresponsible meal. And for the benefit of one unfamiliar with the customs of the country let it be explained that horses can not be picketed at night; They must have a free-foot to feed over a wide area of ground; for the "bunch-grass" grows sparsely, and they would not find enough

were they tethered. Hence it sometimes befalls a party to spend half the morning following up their scattered horses, who will be very likely during the trip to have drawn sharp social lines, & so to disperse, when left to themselves, north and south in well formulated cliques. A long volume might be written about the Western pony, who is a complicated individual and observes life with the close attention of the modern novelist.

The party were in luck, as the cook had said. There would be no waiting for horses, and it remained for the New Yorkers to arise. Livingston came out of the tent, and went down to the river. Mr. Weeks followed after an interval, with a great sponge yellow as sulphur, and was pleased to find hot water ready. He bought various implements to the fire, and there achieved a limited but slow toilet, often stopping to gaze at the rim of the rising sun.

"Phew!" he said to Livingston returning from the river, "coldest morning yet."

"Down here, too," replied his friend. "Think what it's probably like up on the Divide."

"We're liable to get snowed on any day now," said the cook. "The bread's ready," he added, lifting the cover of the "Dutch-oven." Old Martin arrived, having taken all the horses to drink. He nodded in silence to the company, and helped himself to a piece of frizzling elk-steak from the frying-pan. They sat down to breakfast on sacks and pack-covers, for the ground was wet with the frost.

"It'll be warmer after a bit," said the packer, as they ate. It was still so cold that the elk gravy, once poured on anyone's tin plate, speedily became discs of white grease which, when mopped up with bread-crumb, even Mr. Weeks found delicious in this healthy primitive existence. The sun had moved up from the sharp ridges where it rose,

and now sailed free into the sky. In a few moments the dull white plains of hoar-frost became a universal liquid glitter.

Eastward the bad-lands lay revealed, clotted and lumpy, a confused region of low sterile hills, whose flaky colors were dry and whose shapes were cracked and deformed. They stood among one another like mummies or geological cripples, out of keeping with the modern earth, unusual, monstrous and older than all hills. The golden pink radiance that had filled sky and mountain and valley, increasing until there seemed room for no more of it in space, now vanished into the thinnest clearest air, in which was no motion, and the most utter silence.

The light appeared to flow down on the world from farther off than any sun, with no breeze crossing the straight tree-tops by the river; and the continental range, coming from the distant south appeared to lift into an atmosphere whose sustained serenity grew like some intense magic more and more with the glistening day.

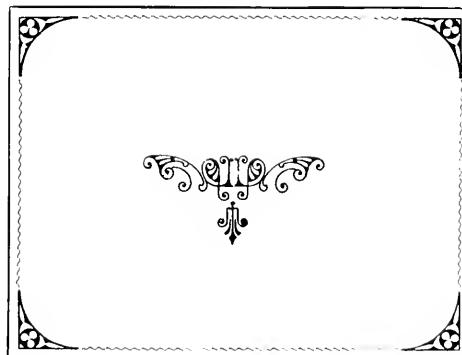
Mr. Weeks was susceptible to effects, and this one, though it occurred almost every morning, always made a profound impression on him.

"There's a good deal in breathing air that has never been in anybody else's lungs before," said Livingston. "And what you feel out here, and what you never feel—we say at Newport."

"But this extraordinary crystal silence!" rhapsodized Mr. Weeks. "It's like the opening bars of Lohengrin."

"Lohengrin made a lot of damned noise when I heard it," remarked Harry, and continued his breakfast.

But Weeks was edified with his comparison, and afterwards wrote it to several friends.



OWEN WISTER

A

PICTORIAL ESSAY



The photographs in this essay are part of the Owen Wister Collection housed in the Archives of the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming. They are representative of the writer, his world and his work.

An 1887 camp at Jackson Hole. Seated, left to right, are George Norman and Copley Armory, Wister's Boston friends, along with guides George West and Jules Mason. Standing are Tigie, an Indian, and Wister pouring a drink into Tigie's cup.



The turn-of-the-century cast of a dramatic presentation of *The Virginian*. Information indicates this was an early moving picture.



*Studio Portrait of
Owen Wister as a Boy*

Shoshone Children on the Wind River Reservation. The Photograph was Made on One of Wister's Visits to Wyoming.



*Owen Wister in a Freshman
Theatrical at Harvard*



*Shoshone
Ladies Lunching*





STONES PHOTO

*Frances Kemble Wister at the
Family Ranch in Jackson Hole,
1911*

*Owen Wister at Home,
Late in His Career*



BOOK REVIEWS

Aven Nelson of Wyoming, by Roger L. Williams (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1984). Notes. Index. Appendices. Illustrations. 407 pp. \$29.50.

Roger Williams' long-awaited portrait of Wyoming's eminent botanist does what the biography of a scientist ought to do: trace the maturing of a noteworthy intellect; outline the subject's place in his or her discipline, times, and locale; and, importantly, give the lay reader an understanding of just what the scientist learned and taught. Williams tells the story of an English teacher who became a botanist by affinity and chance. Isolated in the Rockies, Nelson taught himself the complex science of taxonomic botany, beginning as a lone and unrecognized collector of Wyoming plants and making his reputation with the *New Manual of Botany of the Central Rocky Mountains (Vascular Plants)*, coauthored with John M. Coulter in 1909. He achieved the pinnacle of his career in 1934 with his election as president of the Botanical Society of America. Along the way, Nelson conquered the doubts of Harvard botanists who assured him that Rocky Mountain flora were best studied from the banks of the Charles, surmounted geographical and financial barriers to his academic legitimacy by picking up a mail order Ph.D. from the University of Denver, and reconciled in his own mind the conflict between religion and science that troubled so many in his generation. Williams gives his readers just enough technical botany to enable us to follow Nelson's development, but never so much that the narrative stalls. The author has also included eight of his own splendid photographs of wildflowers, illustrations that draw the reader into an enthusiasm for Rocky Mountain flora.

Yet there is a deep flaw in this book. Historians of the American West have long faced the charges that studying the West turns scholars into buffs and intellectuals into

moral monomaniacs, reducing tangled historical events to conflicts between Good Guys and Bad Guys. Likewise, biographers should avoid being simply critics or apologists for their subjects. When Williams writes in the preface to *Aven Nelson* that he is "inclined to risk the observation that there was a saintliness about [Nelson] that was sometimes misperceived as mere charm," (p. xii) the reader realizes that the author's underlying purpose is to vindicate Nelson's every action, and to discredit any persons ever low enough to have opposed the botanist.

Such zeal leads Williams to distort some of the characters and events surrounding Nelson, and even to resort to shoddy scholarship and tasteless writing in an otherwise graceful and careful book. Williams is particularly though not uniquely at fault in his treatment of Nelson's longtime adversary, Grace Raymond Hebard. In order to highlight Nelson's virtue, Williams must make Hebard the embodiment of evil—a satan in petticoats. Every reference of Hebard is embarrassingly skimpy on documentation and long on apocrypha, sleazy innuendo, and cheap criticism. In some cases, as in the statement that Hebard retired in 1931 with no research project in progress, Williams is simply wrong.

While the hagiographic tone of *Aven Nelson* marks the author as a biographer in the outmoded style of, say, Hebard herself, we should remember that the University of Wyoming's centennial approaches. *Aven Nelson of Wyoming* is indispensable reading for those interested in the history of the University, as well as for students of the history of botany.

VIRGINIA SCHARFF

Scharff is a Ph.D. candidate in history at the University of Arizona.

This Is Dinosaur, edited by Wallace Stegner (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, Inc., Publishers, 1985). Illus. 93 pp. Cloth, \$24.95; Paper, \$8.95.

During the early 1950s, Wyoming residents joined other Americans in worrying about and arguing over alleged communists in government, the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, taxes, and the Cold War. The state was embroiled in its own controversy as well over conservation, reclamation, and the national park system. Along with Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico, Wyoming stood behind plans of the Bureau of Reclamation to construct a dam on the Green River in Dinosaur National Monument, about eighty miles south of Rock Springs. The dam promised to stimulate the shaky Wyoming economy by providing construction jobs, badly needed hydroelectric power, and by storing precious Colorado River water for that all important future. However, thousands of Americans shouted the proposal down in Congress, out of their fear that it could undermine the philosophy of the National Park Service.

In the end, the latter claimed victory, after Wyoming Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney and his colleagues from the upper Colorado basin states agreed to end their support of Echo Park Dam. The lawmakers made the concession due to strong pressure from preservation-minded Americans, pressure caused in part by publication of *This Is Dinosaur*, by Alfred A. Knopf, in 1955. David Brower, then executive director of the Sierra Club, had been leading the fight against the dam. As part of his effort, he asked Wallace Stegner to edit a collection of essays on various aspects of the monument: its history, archeology, scenery, wildlife, and geology. Brower and Stegner hoped *This Is Dinosaur* might reveal the wonders of this remote, seldom-visited corner of Colorado and Utah. They joined with Knopf in hoping the book might persuade the fence-sitters in Congress to vote against Echo Park Dam. *This Is Dinosaur* soon appeared on the desk of each member of Congress, and the book proved a valuable ally in the victory national park lovers achieved.

On the thirtieth anniversary of the battle, *This Is Dinosaur* has been reissued with new illustrations and a new introduction by Stegner. Like the first edition, the book is meant as an informative introduction to the monument and as a call to action to protect Dinosaur from potential dams. This time, proposed dams on the Yampa River far beyond the monument's boundaries could dramatically affect wildlife, stream flows, water temperatures, and riparian habitat in Dinosaur.

Stegner recognizes that Dinosaur has been at the center of controversy—and may soon be again—because national monuments receive less attention and less protection than national parks. While the National Park Service makes little distinction between the two administratively, visitors sense that "national park" implies unspoiled lands, breathtaking vistas, and incomparable beauty. The national

parks, Stegner writes, "are the crown jewels."(ix) Hence, dam-builders, oil-drillers, and nearby "developers" must move more cautiously to prevent encroaching on a park's environment. Stegner thus advocates conversion of Dinosaur into a national park, having in mind potential dams upstream. Calling the monument "superbly worthy to be a national park," Stegner describes it as "an outdoor museum of an extraordinary kind [which] imposes the dignity and patience of the ages on our petty, sweaty human preoccupations."(x)

Not a well known part of the national park system, Dinosaur is often missed by travelers in the region, and it remains unfamiliar to many in the upper basin. Readers will profit from the outstanding essays reprinted from the first edition: Olaus Murie and Joseph Penfold introduce the wildlife; Otis "Dock" Marston outlines the history of river exploration on the Green and Yampa; Eliot Blackwelder explains the awesome geologic forms; and the late Knopf examines "The National Park Idea." While new knowledge of the monument's history and natural world has come to light since the 1950s, the essays remain fresh, perceptive, and enlightening.

Volumes like *This Is Dinosaur* are rare in this day and age of slick, oversized picture books on national parks. It can be treasured as a thoughtful work about one of North America's rare places.

MARK W. T. HARVEY

The reviewer is a Doctoral Candidate at the University of Wyoming.

A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920, by Frederick E. Hoxie (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). Bib., Notes, Index. xvi + 350 pp. Cloth, \$25.95.

The early reservation period (1880s to 1920s) in American Indian history suffers from scholarly neglect. Yet events during this era have shaped and determined Native Americans' place in American society as much as the colorful and more studied era of Indian-white military conflict that preceded it. In *A Final Promise*, Frederick E. Hoxie focuses on how white society's attitudes changed toward American Indians during these years. His study is the most sophisticated and convincing interpretation of Progressive era attitudes toward Native Americans to date.

A Final Promise is divided into two parts. First, Hoxie describes the campaign to assimilate the Indians to 1900. American society recognized that it owed Native Americans a tremendous obligation. Policies reflected a desire to compensate the dispossessed tribes with membership

within the nation. Animated by optimism, politicians, missionaries, and anthropologists predicted that Indians would achieve full citizenship within a short time. The Dawes Indian Allotment Act (1887) represented the culmination of this phase. Hoxie breaks new interpretive ground in assessing the diverse motives behind it. A triumph of "self-interest meshed with idealism," (p. 44) allotment saw businessmen and politicians joining with idealistic reformers in this assimilationist panacea.

After 1900, a dampening of the original enthusiasm for assimilation began to occur. Politicians, reformers, and anthropologists lowered their expectations for the Indians' future. Instead of full American citizenship, a special Indian citizenship status evolved which reflected the lowered expectations. Individual guardianship would continue, but the original late nineteenth century reformers' vision of full assimilation was altered. Negative Progressive era attitudes toward non-whites helped justify assigning Indians a permanent place near the bottom of the American social structure. Indians, to most Americans, were incapable of full assimilation. Educational programs and land policies reflected a "colonial" approach as Indian affairs, formerly a national concern, became the sole province of Western state politicians. Wyoming's Wind River Reservation is discussed as an example of the post-1900 change toward the Indians. At Wind River, policymakers unilaterally appropriated tribal monies to fund a system of irrigation ditches and canals. This development led to increased Indian land alienation and greater control over native resources by non-Indians.

A Final Promise is one of the most important books on American Indian relations to appear in recent years. Hoxie's study contains many original, thought-provoking ideas. He argues that had the original consensus for full assimilation held, today's Native American tribalism would be much weaker. Instead, lowered expectations led to less attention being paid to assimilation programs. New leaders evolved who could better meet the challenge of the reservation experience. Certainly this is one of the most ironic and unintended effects of Progressive era Indian policy. Unfortunately, Hoxie does not develop this intriguing idea nearly enough. It is developed more thoroughly, however, in his 1977 Brandeis University Ph.D. dissertation. *A Final Promise* provides an interpretive framework for understanding an era that has lacked comprehensive study. Future scholars will undoubtedly test Hoxie's conclusions. Whether they agree with his findings or not, all students of federal Indian policy owe him gratitude for a well-conceived study.

STEVEN C. SCHULTE

Schulte is head of the Department of History at the College of the Ozarks.

The Good That Lives After Them: The Lives and Legacies of Dodd and Dorothy Bryan, Vernon and Rowena Griffith, and Frederick and Harriet Thorne-Rider, by Bob Wilson (Cheyenne: Frontier Printing, 1982). Index. Illus. 170 pp. \$14.50.

Bob Wilson is determined to praise his subjects and not to bury them. Commissioned by the boards of trustees of the Bryan, Griffith, and Thorne-Rider Foundations to write the history of their founders, Wilson serves his patrons well. This is not good history; it is the official, authorized, sanitized version.

The Bryans, Griffiths, and Thorne-Riders were interesting individuals who made important contributions and Wilson does fill an important gap in telling their stories. Dodd Bryan was a successful Philadelphia insurance executive and Vernon Griffith a large Wyoming wool producer before they turned their attentions to philanthropy. Frederick Thorne-Rider was the Renaissance man of the group as his career included acting, ranch management, New Jersey politics, and membership in the Italian nobility. The Thorne-Rider, Bryan, and Griffith Foundations, begun respectively in 1964, 1972, and 1976, provided \$4 million in grants and loans by 1980. Sheridan (Wyoming) College and many other schools, hospitals, camps, and individuals have benefited from these philanthropists. Certainly much good has continued to live after them.

But if the reader longs for the other side, he or she will not find it here. This is the version without warts. One would think that those who have made millions might have accumulated some skeletons along the way. If there are, one will not learn of them here. Wilson draws his six subjects as paragons of industry, diligence, virtue, honor, intelligence, style, and benevolence. In one notable lapse from laudation, Wilson mentions that Thorne-Rider faced opposition as County Collector of Hudson County, New Jersey but then dismisses it as unimportant. The serious, critical reader is left hungry for analysis and substance but finds none.

The book, which the author had published by Frontier Printing of Cheyenne, is more beautiful in form than content. The quality buckram binding and heavy paper give it an elegant look. But the editing is poor, if not absent entirely. For a work of history the book is woefully short of dates. No footnotes or bibliographical references are included. Wilson's excessive use of exclamation points to punctuate every gush of elation about his beloved subjects becomes annoying. If nothing else, it would be a handsome addition to the coffee table.

JOHN DERGE

Mr. Derge received his M.A. from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and his A.B. from Ripon College.

Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865-1890, by Ann M. Butler (Chicago & Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985). Index. Notes. Bib. Illus. 179 pp. \$16.95.

Prostitution, as a subject for serious attention by historians has been kicked under the carpet for quite a number of years. The generations of history scholars influenced by Victorian and Edwardian moral attitudes certainly knew about prostitution, but they didn't study it and they didn't discuss it as a part of the whole fabric in the story of the American West. To be sure, sociologists and psychologists devoted time and scholarship to it, while their peers in the field of history appear to have felt better leaving it alone.

That has changed and there has been a plethora of literature on the role prostitution played in the formative years of the West. Several serious journals have published articles on it and some well-thought-out books have appeared.

One of the most ambitious is Anne M. Butler's *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery*. Butler has conducted nothing less than prodigious research, examining the resources in twenty repositories in Wyoming, Arizona, Texas, Colorado, New Mexico and Kansas. She made use of every possible kind of document that would shed some light on what has been called the world's oldest profession. These sources included cemetery records, census rolls, newspapers, jail registers, correspondence, police dockets and other like items. The final product is an informative and enlightening compilation of data on prostitution in the years between the Civil War and the turn-of-the-century.

The book makes a solid contribution to the history of the topic under consideration. Butler's end notes and bibliography may not be surpassed for many years to come. Used properly, those two aspects of the book will serve as a superlative reference source on the topic of prostitution.

One may perceive flaws, however, since at the book's conclusion, there seems to be a little something missing. Butler is not as clear as she could be about the point she is trying to make. The book states that prostitution was a dreadful business and that the women involved were, many times, victims. But of whom or what?—themselves, the system? the generation? the economy? males of the species? If that is the point, there should be some stronger closing arguments.

And too, if these women are to be painted as victims, it should be pointed out that there were other sufferers in the West of that era. The book details the violence, misery, general ugliness and high mortality rate associated with prostitution. All this is true, but every one of those misfortunes can be associated with other professions in the last half of the 19th century. The common foot soldier earned a mere thirteen dollars a month, was often poorly fed, often exposed to the elements and stood a good chance of ex-

periencing a horrible death at the hands of Native Americans. Coal miners led wretched lives, working under frightfully hard and unsafe conditions. The grim lot of factory workers, many of them children, became a national scandal. Real cowboy life was brutal and as different from the Hollywood image of it as night from day. In short, many other occupational choices were as closed to promise, personal fulfillment and upward mobility as prostitution. There were other victims. In failing to make that clear, Butler clouds the whole picture of work life in the 19th century.

Still, the book is a fine addition to other social histories of the era. It gives us all a clearer picture of milieu in which our forebears dwelt by doing away with the image of the saloon girl with a heart of gold and Paris wardrobe.

Further, the author has a wonderfully readable prose style. It flows. One does not labor through the book, one breezes through it, picking up and retaining as much as she or he chooses. The information imparted by the book is easily assimilated, and that is an indication of a skillful writer/historian.

WILLIAM H. BARTON

The Reviewer is the author of "The Shady Ladies and the Scarlet Arts in the West."

The Making of a Town: Wright, Wyoming, by Robert W. Righter (Boulder, Colorado: Robert Rinehart, Inc., Publishers, 1985). Index. Illus. Bib. Notes. 203 pp. \$19.50.

Today as oil prices continue to plummet and the fossil fuel industry in the west struggles to survive, one remembers those heady days of the 1970s energy boom in the Rocky Mountain States when oil exploration drilling rigs crisscrossed the high plains and coal seemed the salvation for an energy starved country. The story of Wright begins in that era and may be coming to an abrupt end in this one. These dramatic economic boom-and-bust cycles, which wrought so much chaos in the American West in the nineteenth century, continue with each cycle compressed and greatly accelerated. Robert Righter in his book traces the latter portion of the cycle for the community of Wright, but does not fully place the development of Wright in this broader historical context which would have enriched and given depth to this work.

The book begins with an all too brief overview of town planning in the American West. Righter, freely admitting his unfamiliarity with this subject area, admirably describes the process of town building as conducted by the Union Pacific Railroad, the mining companies near Sheridan, Wyoming and others. Unfortunately, no mention is given

to the development of Sinclair (Parco) or Jeffrey City which were two towns established during other boom periods and for many of the same reasons that Wright was established. Also the Civilian Conservation Corps camps established near Gillette during the 1930s could be profitably studied to understand the problems which faced a new settlement composed of urbanites placed suddenly in a frontier environment.

The author next examines the geographic, economic, social and climatic conditions which led the Atlantic Richfield Company to the decision to found a new community on the high plains. The main bulk of the work describes in detail the theoretical planning which went into establishing Wright and the practical execution of this plan. The people responsible for the creation of Wright are discussed plus the various steps in meeting modern legal requirements, now necessary to town founding, which would seem so alien to nineteenth century entrepreneurs.

This is followed by an evaluation of the town building process and examination of the existing community. An attempt is made to show not only what the Atlantic Richfield Company did right, but what the company could have done better. The various anecdotes told by the people of Wright enlivens the narrative acting as a counterpoint to the necessary rendition of statistical data. The resulting work is a provocative if sometimes a "company" history of town planning in the twentieth century west. The harshest criticism that can be leveled about this book is that one wishes it were longer. Perhaps, Righter at some future date will continue the chronicles of Wright.

JOHN C. PAIGE

Paige is a historian with the National Park Service.

Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City, 1849 and 1850, by Brigham D. Madsen (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983). Index. Bib. Maps. Notes. Illus. 178 pp. \$16.95.

Professor Madsen deals here with an intriguing subject—the interaction of Mormons and non-Mormons ("Gentiles") at Salt Lake City during the premier California gold rush years of 1849 and 1850. What is most intriguing about it is the fact that the local population of between 10,000 and 15,000 Mormon faithful was invaded by an army of around 25,000 "gold diggers" (about one-third of the total for the two years) hell-bent for the Pacific Coast—many of them not only non-Mormon but vocally anti-Mormon. This had the potential for a violent collision, but, like a comet brushing past the earth, it resulted only in a few sparks.

In-depth scholarly treatment of this fascinating subject was pioneered by John D. Unruh, Jr. in a chapter of his book (*The Plains Across*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1979, pp. 302-337) entitled "The Mormon Half-Way House." Madsen treats the subject in greater depth, though with a narrower time focus.

The author is to be commended for his scholarly objectivity in handling the theme of Gentile confrontation with Mormons in their new Zion, staked out in the barren Utah wilderness. Because the zealous Mormons had gotten crosswise with citizens back East—mainly in Missouri and Illinois, from both of which states they had been forcibly ejected—there was the possibility of fireworks when representatives of the two groups met again in Utah. Although there was frequent Mormon profiteering and a few instances of outright aggression against the emigrants—climaxing by the Mountain Meadows Massacre in 1857—this historic confrontation turned out to be mainly peaceful.

Although they approached each other gingerly at the outset—something like boxers circling each other—old grievances and apprehensions tended to be set aside because of immediate practical considerations, mainly the mutual need for trade, which resulted in what Madsen calls "The Great Basin Open Air Market."

What the Salt Lake Mormons had to trade, mainly, were two things—a unique albeit crude haven in the wilderness for sick and weary pilgrims, and products of their creative mountain stream-fed agriculture. What the emigrants had in exchange was cash and material goods that were scarce in Utah, mainly wagons, animals, tools, implements, and other paraphernalia which they here declared surplus so they could slim down their outfits for a fast crossing of the treacherous Great Basin. In the process of exchanging goods and services, the latent foes momentarily forgot their hostility in their mutual discovery that they were all seemingly ordinary human beings, without horns or tails.

The process of emigrant mental adjustment received its severest test in the matter of Mormon polygamy. Madsen concedes that this and other "strange customs" strained the Gentiles' capacity for tolerance. Another cause of their apprehension was the habit of Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, and other Mormon leaders to denounce publicly, and often with vituperation, the United States Government in general, and citizens of Missouri and Illinois in particular. (Many emigrant trains composed of citizens from these two states carefully avoided the Salt Lake detour.) Madsen points out that both polygamy and anti-government polemics served the early Mormon rationale, but that these and other eccentricities were muted after the aborted "Mormon Rebellion" of 1857-1858.

The author draws from a wealth of primary sources, primarily eye-witness testimony of California-bound emigrants and resident Mormons, the mainly tolerant rank and

file as well as their leaders, who were more prone to political fantasy and fanaticism. This reviewer would dispute with Madsen only one of his generalizations. While Madsen concludes that the majority of Gentiles left Salt Lake City with a generally favorable view of Mormons there, it is my impression from familiarity with hundreds of overland narratives that the reverse was true—that Mormon behaviour and attitudes were viewed skeptically, on balance, by most Forty-Niners. In fact, several decades would pass before moderation of Mormon ethnocentricity would restore members of that faith to fully qualified citizenship in the eyes of non-Mormons, and Salt Lake City would come to be perceived—as it is today—as an innocent tourist mecca, without the overtones of menace that disturbed covered wagon travelers to California.

MERRILL J. MATTES

The reviewer is a retired National Park Service employee and the author of numerous publications including *The Great Platte River Road and Indians, Infants and Infantry*.

The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writers Project, 1935-1943, by Jerre Mangione (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983). Bib. Index, Illus. 416 pp. \$12.50.

The New Deal and the West, by Richard Lowitt (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1984). Notes, Bib. Index, Illus. 282 pp. \$25.00.

The Rooseveltian response to the Great Depression of the 1930s, the New Deal, provoked controversy from the start. Attackers and defenders alike rushed into print with examinations of the general concept of FDR's plan or specific applications of that plan. The initial works were quickly followed by rebuttals, reformulations, and reiterations, beginning a process which has continued for half a century as new generations of professional and amateur historians have entered the debate. By now the bibliography of the New Deal is so overwhelming that seemingly there can be no gaps left to fill. Two recent publications, however, have found niches not yet occupied. Neither offers a new interpretation; rather, both address aspects previously left untreated. Jerre Mangione examines one of the controversial agencies, the Writers Project, while Richard Lowitt tackles the assignment of exploring the impact of Roosevelt's alphabet agencies on a hitherto neglected region.

Aside from their common classification as New Deal history, the two works have virtually nothing in common. *The New Deal and the West* is a new work by a distinguished academic historian. It surveys in 228 pages, ten years, emphasizing, as space limitations force, politics and government and slighting the personal and social impacts of the

depression and ameliorative programs. In the recently released *Dream and the Deal*, Magione, the "amateur," treats at leisure the program which introduced the previously alien concept of federal patronage in the arts (not without a great deal of screaming from the political right about socialism) into American life. He stresses the lasting contributions in literature and the other arts of his short-lived program.

As well as in content, the two works differ in scope, style, and sources. Lowitt ambitiously surveys an entire region which has not been previously treated; Mangione's scope is more restricted, one previously neglected agency. In selection of sources the two authors differ, as well, Mangione relying more heavily on firsthand knowledge and interviews with his former coworkers and Lowitt pursuing the more academic approach of extracting material from printed documents, primary and secondary. And style is markedly different in the two works. Lowitt writes in an academic style for an academic audience. He is disciplined and formal without, however, being pedantic and boring. Mangione, in an equally interesting style, approaches his topic as more of a memoir, letting emotion and personal reminiscences divert him from his main points in order to color his narrative. Each author is comfortable with his respective approach, and the results are equally worthwhile for the reader, whether historian or enthusiast.

Each work enjoys the added virtue of quality preparation by its press. Neither is marred by inferior typesetting, and both include ample photographs. Both Indiana University Press which produced the new history by Lowitt and the University of Pennsylvania Press which displayed the good judgement to reissue Mangione's 1972 work in paperback are to be commended.

Only rarely can one honestly get excited about a new work in history, especially one in the oft plowed ground of the New Deal. Because of the rarity of truly excellent works in this area, it is especially pleasing to report that two of that scarce breed are now available.

J. HERSCHEL BARNHILL
Tinker AFB, Oklahoma

J. Herschel Barnhill received his Ph.D. in history from Oklahoma State University.

Mining Town: The Photographic Record of T. N. Barnard and Nellie Stockbridge from the Coeur d'Alenes, by Patricia Hart and Ivar Nelson (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press; and Boise: Idaho State Historical Society, 1984). Bib. Index. Illus. 179 pp. \$24.95.

Mining Town by Patricia Hart and Ivar Nelson is a photographic history of the hard-rock mining activities in a portion of Idaho known as the Coeur d' Alenes. Starting with the gold rush years of the mid-1880s, the book traces

the region's development beyond World War One by means of photographs taken by two Wallace, Idaho photographers, Thomas Nathan Barnard and Nellie Stockbridge, whose photos record Coeur d'Alenes's mining activities, businesses, church, school and social events, architecture, and "cataclysmic" episodes such as fires, floods, avalanches, and mine-property dynamitings. Hart and Nelson have carefully selected photographs not only to illustrate local occurrences but also to reflect a relationship between the region's history and "contemporary national trends." To this core of illustrations, the authors have provided an extensively researched narrative which begins with biographical sketches of Barnard and Stockbridge and then expands to chapters on gold and silver mining, labor conflicts of 1892 and 1899, the development of stable, family-oriented communities such as Wallace, the problem of isolation caused by harsh winters and rugged mountains, and the persistence of vices such as bootlegging and prostitution in spite of the advance of civilization to the region.

One of *Mining Town's* subtleties is that, while the book has the appeal of a popular history of an isolated mining region of the Rocky Mountain West, it also has an interpretive element to it. Paying attention to technological developments in hard-rock mining, Hart and Nelson echo Charles A. Beard's contention that one frame of reference available to the historian is that of history being a progressive movement upward from a state of crude origins to a higher level of civilization. The authors of *Mining Town* reflect this viewpoint to the extent that they depict the Coeur d'Alenes as advancing from a primitive condition of individualistic gold mining to a more complex situation involving corporate-controlled silver mining. This frame of reference is exemplified in the author's statement that "the trek from the gold rush placer mines of the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River to the hard-rock silver and lead mines of the South Fork was an irrevocable step from the American frontier to the benefits and restrictions of the industrial revolution." (p. 27) To Hart and Nelson the revolution in mining technology that the Coeur d'Alenes experienced resulted in the region's passage from a backward time of frontier settlement to a more modern era of civilized communities.

In addition to its illustrative and interpretive appeal, *Mining Town* is to be commended for several other points. In the first place, the authors provide a rather lengthy bibliographic essay that allows a reader the opportunity to sample the types of sources available to a Western-mining-community historian. Although *Mining Town* does not have footnotes, the bibliography enhances the book's scholarly appeal.

Second, Hart and Nelson are expert at writing descriptive narrative, particularly in the case of architectural and technological detail. Their passages on the construction of a Catholic mission, Wallace's high school building, and the

Northern Pacific Depot at Wallace are memorable points within the book.

Overall, *Mining Town* is worth reading. It is somewhat reminiscent of Ed Billie's *Early Days at Salt Creek and Teapot Dome* which is another excellent photographic history. Besides being entertaining and enlightening, the book speaks well of the historian who tries to relate local history to a broader perspective of universal experiences.

WALTER R. JONES

The reviewer is Head of the Western Americana Division, Special Collections Department at the Marriot Library at the University of Utah.

Vanishing Roadside America, by Warren H. Anderson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981). Forward. Illus. 144 pp. \$14.95.

How often is Marilyn Monroe compared to a 1956 Cadillac? With intriguing drawings entitled "Marilyn Monroe Caddy," "Derelict De Soto," and "Post Civil War and World War II Optimism with Dolly Parton Sky," Warren Anderson's artistry and prose immediately capture the reader's attention. Anderson's skillfully transforms ordinary objects such as roadside signs, gasoline pumps, and automobile grilles into interesting cultural remnants in his book *Vanishing Roadside America*. This University of Arizona art professor is a keen observer of the American landscape. Anderson combines his talents as both an artist and author to document automobile-related relics from the twenties, thirties and forties that somehow managed to survive along our country's southeastern and southwestern highways. The author's straightforward message involves the belief that commonplace roadside images, especially those advertisements for motels, food and gas, are significant harbingers of the past. Over fifty drawings and a humorous text explain how these cultural artifacts relate to and imitate American lifestyles, ideas, and well-known architectural styles. Throughout the text Anderson does not disguise his interest in preserving these vestiges of the past as he mentions that at least half of these highway signs are now gone.

Anderson intentionally chose a colored pencil drawing technique because of its similarity to linen-textured, polychrome postcards produced during the thirties and forties. The artist's illustrations do not convey a romantic or sentimental feeling but, instead, provide a realistic portrayal of his unusual subjects. It is important to mention that Anderson's ability to discover and, then convey, the artistic attributes of highway signs and gasoline pumps are noteworthy talents.

The boundaries for Anderson's study parallel federal legislation enacted during the twenties and fifties. In the early twenties the federal government financed the completion of a coast to coast route, the Lincoln Highway; later in 1956, the Federal Highway Act authorized the construction of our current interstate system. Each piece of legislation had a substantial impact on automobile travel. While individually owned businesses proliferated along the Lincoln Highway during the thirties, an area's distinctive regional character diminished with the rise of the homogenized interstate system.

Although he does briefly discuss corporate symbols of the day such as Mobil's Pegasus, Anderson focuses most of his attention on signs constructed for small business concerns. The author assigns each roadside relic to a specific category as he stresses the individual qualities of each craftsman produced sign. The Art Deco and Art Moderne movements strongly influenced both the shape of signs and the style of letters. Symbols of a bygone era, that are no longer appropriate today, are integral components of business advertisements; Anderson writes, "Thus the females are usually shown as sweetly standardized and buxom. The Indians appear glum and downtrodden." (p. 89) Anderson scrutinizes even the vegetation found on

highway legends as he explains the behavior and lexicon of early automobile travel.

The author's text and drawings help to validate his conclusion that as pieces of material culture, highway relics provide reliable indicators of American life. As an off-shoot of the burgeoning interest in vernacular art forms and architecture, *Vanishing Roadside America* is a study that can entertain both academic and general audiences. Although other books such as J.J.C. Andrews' *The Well Built Elephant* portray the eccentric nature of roadside architecture, Anderson's efforts to document the ordinary or vernacular aspect of roadside architecture furnish valuable additions to the material culture genre.

Warren Anderson finishes his book on an encouraging note, "For now, let this limited sampling of drawings suffice." (p. 139) Perhaps sometime in the future Mr. Anderson will turn his attention to Wyoming's gas pumps, signs, and buildings that still give Rock River and Red Desert a strong sense of time and place.

EILEEN F. STARR

Starr is the Architectural Historian in the State Historic Preservation Office.

BOOK NOTES

The books listed here are reprints of popular and significant works on the history of the Western United States. Many have been previously reviewed in *Annals of Wyoming*. Because of their enduring qualities, the editors of *Annals* wish to bring their availability to the attention of our readers.

Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail by Theodore Roosevelt with 83 illustrations by Frederick Remington, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1983), Cloth, \$19.95; Paper, \$8.95. The original, issued in 1888, describes Roosevelt's ranch life in Dakota Territory on the Little Missouri River.

Twentieth-Century Montana, A State of Extremes by K. Ross Toole, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), Paper, \$12.95. This is the sixth printing of the popular history first published in 1972.

Yellowstone National Park, Guide and Reference Book by Cliff McAdams, (Boulder: Preutt Publishing, 1981). Paper \$3.95. This volume contains much information on the geologic history, wildlife, tree and plant facts, a list of attractions as well as charts and maps.

Rocky Mountain Life by Rufus B. Sage, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1983), Paper, \$7.50. When the book was first published in 1846 it became a best seller of its time. The Bison edition is photocopied from a 1857 edition and included the oddities of spelling, punctuation and pagination of that edition. For example, it lacks pages 15 through 26.

The American West, New Perspectives, New Dimensions edited by Jerome O. Steffen, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979) second printing, 1981. Cloth, \$14.95; Paper, \$6.95. The American West is considered in the frontier context, as reflected in fiction and symbolism and finally, in terms of the rise of an urbanized West. Contributors include John C. Hudson, Gene M. Gressley, Ronald L. F. Davis and Richard Eutlain.

Perkey's Nebraska Place Names by Elton A. Perkey, (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1982), Paper, \$6.95. Perkey has spent two decades assembling the information, which was run as a series in the journal *Nebraska History*. Marvin F. Kivett has stated that the work is the most thorough done to date in this field. The material is alphabetically arranged by county.

Mormon Country by Wallace Stegner, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1981), Paper, \$6.95. Previously published in 1942 and 1970, the book is the story of Mormon settlement in the West. Since there has been such a tremendous amount of Mormon history published since 1942, a return to this standard is a must when considering the story of the Mormons as a whole.

Halfbreed by Maria Campbell, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1982), Paper, \$4.95. First published in 1973, the work is the autobiographical story of a halfbreed woman in western Canada in the 1940s.

Four American Indian Literary Masters by Alan R. Velie, (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1982). Paper \$9.95, Hard \$16.95. Short critical pieces introduce the reader to Scott Momaday, James Welch, Leslie Silko and Gerald Vizenor. Velie shows how the writers draw on tribal antecedents and modern U.S. and European literary movements.

Indians of the Great Basin, a Critical Bibliography by Omer C. Steard, (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1982), Paper, \$5.95. This includes an alphabetical list of pertinent literature on the subject as well as recommended works for beginners and a basic library for collectors.

Old Jules Country by Mari Sandoz, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1982), Paper, \$6.50. The book contains a selection from *Old Jules* and *Thirty Years of Writing* and selections from Sandoz' acclaimed *Great Plains* series. It is a stimulating sampling of her work and may have been designed for new audiences.

Astoria by Washington Irving, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1982), Paper, \$9.95. First published by Irving in 1836, it is a history of trapping, hunting and exploration. A 24 page introduction explains the genesis of the book, how it was written and Irving's personal fascination with the American West. It was originally done at the behest of John Jacob Astor.

Oglala Religion by William K. Powers, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1982), Paper, \$5.95. First published in 1975, the book treats with how the Oglala Sioux have preserved their social and cultural identity. It focuses on the nature of the uniquely Oglala values which persist, including modes of cultural expression.

Gold in the Black Hills by Watson Parker, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1982), Paper, \$6.95. Parker tells the story of the Black Hills Gold Rush of 1874-1879. He is an authority on the source with an entertaining prose style. The book first appeared in 1966.

With the Border Ruffians, Memories of the Far West 1852-1868 by R. H. Williams, (Lincoln: Bison Books 1982), Paper, \$9.95. Williams left the English Navy in 1852 to farm in Virginia. In the War between the States, he rode with Confederate cavalry. First published in 1907, nearly 40 years after he had left the U.S., Williams produced an extraordinary memoir.

Riders of Judgment by Frederick F. Manfred, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1982), Paper, \$6.95. This novel, first released in 1957, is about the 1890s range wars in Johnson County, Wyoming. The protagonist, Cain Hammett seems to be based roughly on Nate Champion. The theme is small time ranchers versus ruthless cattle barons. Manfred is the author of *Lord Grizzly*.

Their Fathers' God by O. E. Rolvaag, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1983), Paper, \$7.95. The novel was translated by Trygve M. Ager and first published in 1931. Minnesota of the 1890s is the setting for the love story of Susie Doheny, an Irish Catholic, and Peder Hold, a Norwegian Lutheran. Their marriage is tested by drought, depression and family bickering.

Montana, High, Wide and Handsome by Joseph Kinsey Howard, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1983), Paper, \$7.50. This is a good enough history to have been chosen by the readers of *Montana: the Magazine of Western History* as the most significant book on the state. It was first available in 1943.

The Crow Indians by Robert H. Lowie, (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1983), Paper, \$8.95. Lowie lived with the Crow Indians off and on from 1907 to 1931. In 1935 he published his studies on them. The volume deals with tribal organization, literature, war, religion, the tobacco society and sun dance. It has been considered a masterpiece of ethnography.

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RICHARD F. FLECK has served as professor of English at the University of Wyoming since 1965. For the academic year of 1981-1982, he was an exchange professor of English at Osaka University in Japan. He has published several volumes of poetry including *Cottonwood Moon*, *Clearing of the Mist* and *Bamboo in the Sun*. His "Selective Literary Bibliography of Wyoming" co-authored with Robert Campbell was published in the Spring, 1974 issue of *Annals*.

JOHN ROBROCK is responsible for the artwork which illustrates the Richard F. Fleck poem and Rupert Weeks biographical material. Robrock has a Bachelors in both art and history. He has taught in Edgemont, South Dakota and in Douglas. While he has worked with all art mediums, he prefers pen and ink sketching and print making. Recently, he returned to the University of Wyoming to work on a Masters degree.

OWEN WISTER was born of well-to-do parents in Pennsylvania in 1860. In poor health, he made his first trip to Wyoming in 1885. The experience transformed him and he eventually gave up a law career to become a novelist. His acclaimed novel, *The Virginian* introduced the American cowboy to the public as a hero for the first time in 1902. Since then, the characters and colloquialisms of that volume have become part of the American vernacular. For extensive and interesting biographical information on Wister, the editorial staff of *Annals* recommends, *Owen Wister out West, His Journals and Letters*, edited by his daughter Frances Kemble Wister Stokes. Mrs. Stokes is a gifted author in her own right, and her high-spirited prose is a fine addition to the journal and epistolary data contained in the volume.

WILLIAM L. HEWITT received his B.A. and M.A. degrees at Adams State College in Colorado. He obtained his Ph.D. at the University of Wyoming. Hewitt presently is an assistant professor of history at Briarcliff College in Sioux City, Iowa. His articles have been published in previous issues of *Annals*, the most recent being an essay on the University of Wyoming textbook controversy of 1947-1948, which appeared in the Spring, 1984 issue.

DEBORAH S. WELCH is Project Director of the History Teaching Alliance in Washington, D.C. She obtained her Masters degree at Wake Forest and her Ph.D. at the University of Wyoming. The study of Native Americans is one of her major fields of interest.

WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Wyoming State Historical Society was organized in October, 1953. Membership is open to anyone interested in history. County chapters of the society have been chartered in most of the twenty-three counties of Wyoming. Past presidents of the society include; Frank Bowron, Casper, 1953-55; William L. Marion, Lander, 1955-56; Dr. DeWitt Dominick, Cody, 1956-57; Dr. T. A. Larson, Laramie, 1957-58; A. H. MacDougall, Rawlins, 1958-59; Mrs. Thelma G. Condit, Buffalo, 1959-60; E. A. Littleton, Gillette, 1960-61; Edness Kimball Wilkins, Casper, 1961-62; Charles Ritter, Cheyenne, 1962-63; Neal E. Miller, Rawlins, 1963-65; Mrs. Charles Hord, Casper, 1965-66; Glenn Sween, Sheridan, 1966-67; Adrian Reynolds, Green River, 1967-68; Curtiss Root, Torrington, 1968-69; Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Worland, 1969-70; J. Reuel Armstrong, Rawlins, 1970-71; William R. Dubois, Cheyenne, 1971-72; Henry F. Chadey, Rock Springs, 1972-73; Richard S. Dumbrill, Newcastle, 1973-74; Henry Jensen, Casper, 1974-75; Jay Brazelton, Jackson, 1975-76; Ray Pendergraft, Worland, 1976-77; David J. Wadsen, Cody, 1977-78; Mabel Brown, Newcastle, 1978-79; James June, Green River, 1979-80; William F. Bragg, Jr., Casper, 1980-81; Don Hodgson, Torrington, 1981-82; Clara Jensen, Lysite-Casper, 1982-83; Fern Gaenslen, Green River, 1983-84.

Membership information may be obtained from the Executive Headquarters, Wyoming State Historical Society, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. Dues in the state society are:

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